The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

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I Will Not Bless War!

In the series, 'If America Enters the War'

By Harry Emerson Fosdick

—

The Christian Conscience and the Present Crisis

An Editorial

15 Cents a Copy • January 22, 1941 • Four Dollars a Year

In This Issue

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK has for so many years occupied his post of conspicuous leadership among the Protestant ministers of the United States that it may seem presumptuous to identify him to the readers of The Christian Century. He is minister of the Riverside Church, New York; professor of preaching at Union Theological Seminary; preacher on the Vesper hour Sunday afternoon broadcasts of the National Broadcasting Company. To some degree his career can be recalled by simply naming books which he has written: *The Manhood of the Master* (1913); *The Assurance of Immortality* (1913); *The Meaning of Prayer* (1915); *The Meaning of Faith* (1917); *The Meaning of Service* (1920); *Christianity and Progress* (1922); *Twelve Tests of Character* (1923); *The Modern Use of the Bible* (1924); *Adventurous Religion* (1926); *A Pilgrimage to Palestine* (1927); *As I See Religion* (1932); *The Secret of Victorious Living* (1934); *Successful Christian Living* (1937); *A Guide to Understanding the Bible* (1938). About a dozen years ago Dr. Fosdick challenged national attention when he announced that he would never participate in or support another war. To this position he has resolutely adhered.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD veteran liberal journalist, whose autobiography, *Fighting Years,* was one of the events of last year's publishing season. Formerly editor of the *New York Evening Post* and the *Nation,* Mr. Villard is now contributing regularly to The Christian Century.

ANGUS H. MACLEAN is professor of religious education at Canton Theological School, Universalist institution on the campus of St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. He has contributed several articles to The Christian Century.

Next Week

Ninth article in the series on "If America Enters the War" by Dr. Henry Pitney Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

January 22, 1941

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Jan. 20-22. Missionary Assembly, Daytona Beach and Deland, Fla.
Jan. 20-22. Missionary Assembly, Jacksonville, Fla.
Jan. 22. Baptist Wayne Association, Walled Lake, Mich.
Jan. 23. Baptist Flint River Association, Flushing, Mich.
Jan. 23, 24. Disciples Convocation, Oakland, Cal.
Jan. 24. Baptist Huron Association, Port Huron, Mich.
Jan. 24, 25. Disciples Youth Meeting, Fort Worth, Tex.
Jan. 25. Child Labor Day.
Jan. 25-29. Missionary Assembly, Orlando, Fla.
Jan. 26. Charles Street Forum, Boston; Leon R. Land, speaker.
Jan. 26. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Albert G. Butzer, speaker.
Jan. 26. Chicago Sunday Forum; Reginald Babu Lal Singh, speaker.
Jan. 26. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Herbert Agar, speaker.
Jan. 26-28. Missionary Assembly, Winter Park, Fla.
Jan. 26-Feb. 2. National Christian Mission, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Jan. 27. Baptist Saginaw Valley Association, Bay City, Mich.
Jan. 27-31. Disciples Texas Ministers' Institute, Ft. Worth.
Jan. 28. Baptist Alpena Association, Tawas City, Mich.
Jan. 29. School of Christianity, St. George's Church, New York City; Angus Dun, speaker.
Jan. 29-31. Missionary Assembly, Palm Beach, Fla.
Jan. 31, Feb. 1. Disciples Youth Meeting, Forrest City, Ark.
Feb. 1-5. Missionary Assembly, Miami, Fla.
Feb. 2. Baptist World Alliance Day.
Feb. 2. Charles Street Forum, Boston; G. Bromley Oxnam and Edgar Sheffield Brightman, speakers.
Feb. 2. Chicago Sunday Forum; John T. Flynn, speaker.
Feb. 2. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Norman Angell, speaker.
Feb. 2-4. Missionary Assembly, Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Feb. 2-9. National Christian Mission, Washington, D. C.
Feb. 3-28. School for Missionaries, Oregon State College, Corvallis.
Feb. 5. National Social Hygiene Day.
Feb. 5. School of Christianity, St. George's Church, New York City; Roswell Barnes, speaker.
Feb. 5-7. Missionary Assembly, Ft. Myers, Fla.
Feb. 7, 8. Disciples Youth Meeting, Stuttgart, Ark.
Feb. 8, 9. Interdenominational Council on Men's Work, Chicago.
Feb. 8-11. Missionary Assembly, Lakeland, Fla.
Feb. 8-11. Missionary Assembly, Winter Haven, Fla.
Feb. 9. Chicago Sunday Forum; Frank W. McCulloch, speaker.
Feb. 9. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Joshua Loth Liebman, speaker.
Feb. 9. Second Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn.; David Seabury, speaker.
Feb. 9. Race Relations Sunday.
Feb. 9, 10. Mid-West Meeting National Association of Bible Instructors, University of Chicago.
Feb. 9-16. National Christian Mission, St. Louis, Mo.
Feb. 10-15. International Council of Religious Education, Chicago.
Feb. 11-13. Carew Lectures, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.
Feb. 12-14. Missionary Assembly, Tampa, Fla.
Feb. 13-14. Missionary Assembly, Sarasota, Fla.
Feb. 13-16. Lutheran Youth Conference, Rockford, Ill.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

A YOUNG MINISTER of the Disciples of Christ was sentenced to a year and a day in prison by a federal court in Philadelphia on January 10. The case was not much different from other cases in which thirty ministers and theological students have been sent to prison, or twenty-six remaining cases which still await trial. The Rev. Arle Brooks, a worker with the American Friends Service Committee, had refused to register for the draft; before the court he had pleaded *nolo contendere*. Before Federal Judge George A. Welsh passed sentence, however, he made a statement which must be nearly unique in the record of federal courts. "I have to obey the law," said the judge. "I would obey the law if it meant my life. I must sentence you as a judge, but as a man with sons I admire your strength of character, although I don't share your views. Countless millions feel as you feel and are in accord with the ideals you have expressed. You must have wrestled with the problem in solitude, but America is not normal today and you must be charitable with us. Consider that I am your father, and I am talking to you as if you were my son. It may seem hard for a boy to feel that the ideals he stands for are stricken down and that he will have to wear stripes in a prison cell, but the law of the land must be obeyed. The sentence I give you is imposed upon me as a judge ordered to uphold the law. What I am about to do makes me feel like Pontius Pilate." Who was on trial in that Philadelphia courtroom?

Who Was on Trial?

Japanese Relax Urgency In Missions Transfers

SOME RELAXATION of the urgency with which Japanese Christian leaders have pressed missionaries to surrender control of and financial responsibility for Christian enterprises in that country has been noted in recent weeks. For example, Methodist missionaries have recommended to their board in New York that two years ensue before financial aid to secondary schools is discontinued, and five years before assistance to institutions of university rank is stopped. This action accords with a recent action of the Japanese ministry of education. Not long ago, statements from Japanese sources indicated that all help must stop on the first of April next. At the annual meeting of the Methodist mission at which the decision to ask for continued financial help was reached, it was also decided that the mission would continue its work in Japan, even though forty-five missionaries have already departed and ten others plan to leave. Seventy-five missionaries are being encouraged to remain, which means that work of significance is being found for them. The "international situation" is the reason being given for the fact that nearly half of the foreign staff is leaving, although no attempt is made to explain why it applies to some and not to others. Meanwhile, the process of turning over mission property to Japanese nationals continues. Methodist church holdings to the value of $100,000 have already been surrendered, and other such transfers are in prospect. These modifications of the unseemly speed with which the nationalization of the church was begun constitute a good sign. Japanese Christians are no doubt at last beginning to make their influence felt. Further reflection on the part of officials as to political factors may also have had weight. Whatever the cause, all friends of the world Christian community will welcome the fact.

Britain's Debate on War Aims Continues

WHILE there are a few Americans who seem to feel that there is something indelicate about references to British aims in the war, there is no more important and interest-compelling discussion now going on in England than that which deals with the nature of the post-war settlement. How many are the voices raised, and how confusing their lack of agreement, may be judged from certain recent declarations. Thus, Dean Matthews of St. Paul's forecast on January 8 that, in case of victory, Britain might be compelled to control Europe for a considerable time by force of arms, thus enlarging the British empire—possibly under another name. The latest issue we have seen of the *Spectator,* London weekly, in an editorial entitled, "After Victory," although approving the

idea of a League of Nations stripped of coercive powers and of a return to free trade, says that Great Britain is the only power sure to be at the peace conference, "for it is by no means accepted doctrine that Germany shall be invited to come and discuss what treatment she is to receive." (Shades of Versailles!) While the *Nineteenth Century,* famous review, editorially declares: "Once the power of Germany has been broken, England has nothing to fear either from Italy or from Russia—provided, of course, she does not reduce her own armed might by disarmament, by 'collective security' or by any form of practical internationalism." On the other hand, the conference at Malvern called by the Archbishop of York evidently had an entirely different outlook on the post-war period. While it made no pronouncement on the military and imperial relation of a victorious Britain to a conquered Europe, it adopted resolutions declaring that private ownership of Britain's main industrial resources might prove a "stumbling block" to make it more difficult for men to lead Christian lives. So long as private ownership remains, said this church group, "the way of life founded on the supremacy of the economic motive will remain, which is contrary to God's plan for mankind. The time has come for Christians to proclaim the need for striving toward a form of society in which, while the essential values of the individual and human personality are preserved, a continuance of these abuses no longer will be possible." It is good to find the church in England thinking and speaking in this forward-looking fashion. But any hope that such views might reflect the outlook of the government must be substantially discounted by the choice of that most unyielding of Tory diehards, Lord Lloyd, as Lord Halifax's successor as government leader of the House of Lords.

Mrs. Roosevelt Warns Against (Republican) Partisanship

PERSONS who have come to expect to find a fair-minded detachment in Mrs. Roosevelt's running commentary on current events and have learned to enjoy (for it is an acquired taste) the somewhat fresh point of view which she brings to bear upon the topics of the day, must have been grieved by her recent lapse into the most banal fallacy when she found it "shocking and terrifying" that some Republicans in Congress did not enthusiastically applaud all parts of her distinguished husband's message on the state of the nation. She could think of no possible reason for this failure of the President's pronouncement to receive unanimous acclaim than that the recalcitrants were virtually announcing to the country that "we represent you here in Congress not as citizens of the United States in a period of great crisis but as members of a political party which seeks primarily to promote its own partisan interests." In making this comment Mrs. Roosevelt herself spoke as a member of the administration's party and, what is more, as a member of the President's family. It is doubtless quite true that the Republicans in Congress remember that they have a party, but no truer than that Mr. Roosevelt is acutely aware that he has one. Without his party he would not now be President. He was not elected as "a citizen of the United States in a time of great crisis," but as the leader of the Democratic party. Though that is true, the country does have a right to expect patriotic service to take precedence over party fealty at such a time as this. But what right does any member of the President's party or family have to assume or assert that whatever our side proposes is simon-pure nonpartisan patriotism, and that the only possible motive for opposition to it is narrow partisanship? None whatever. That whip cannot be successfully cracked over the heads of Congress. To treat opposition to an administration policy as disloyalty to the country— and doubly detestable because this is "a time of great crisis"—is to demand a one-party system of government, which is the essence of fascism. We may be headed in that direction but we are not there yet by a large margin.

What Becomes of The Heroes?

PERHAPS there is no particular moral attached to the story; the same thing might have happened to any group of ten men. But somehow we haven't been able to forget easily the report, recently made public, of the Hollywood scout who was commissioned to locate the living members of Sergeant York's squad. This squad, as readers will remember, performed the most acclaimed feat of any group in the A.E.F. during the First World War when, in wiping out a nest of machine guns in the Argonne, they killed 25 and captured 132 Germans. One of the movie companies is now making a film based on that exploit, and sent its location manager to discover the surviving members in order that the use of their names might be authorized. After arduous search the emissary found ten men, to each of whom the $250 which the movie company offered came like manna from heaven. Two were found farming, in fairly comfortable circumstances. One was driving a truck for a Massachusetts city. One was working in a mill; another was a mill watchman; another was a porter in a barber shop. Still another was in a veterans' camp. That accounted for seven. But the other three? One was a hopeless drunkard, a saloon bum. Another was living beside a Philadelphia city dump, eking a living out of what he could salvage from the smoking débris, and keeping a few goats. The third was living in a one-room shack in a Texas town, and refused so much as to show his face. Twenty-two years ago these men rode up Broadway with Sergeant York in a storm of cheers and ticker tape. A grateful nation, they were told, meant to show that nothing was too good for them. But that was twenty-two years ago.

European Relief Plans Still a Live Issue

THE FOOD PROBLEM in the occupied countries of Europe and in Spain and unoccupied France grows more acute as the winter wears on. Some months ago Mr. Hoover predicted that it would not be very serious until after the first of the year. The time of real hunger has now come. Soon it will be the time of starvation and epidemics. British opposition to lifting the blockade on foodstuffs shows no sign of weakening. Mr. Hoover has not, however, abandoned his plan, which involved (1)

the purchase of food for these countries with their own money and its transportation in their own ships, (2) British permission for these shipments to pass through the blockade, (3) German guarantees that the food would be allowed to go to those for whom it was intended, and (4) neutral oversight of the distribution so that shipments could be stopped if the guarantees were not fulfilled. An alternative White House plan is said to be in preparation for submission to Congress. As reported, this contemplates using funds appropriated last year for the Red Cross to buy and store food in readiness to ship to the German-occupied countries as soon as German occupancy is withdrawn from them. This makes the feeding of the starving conditional upon a turn of the fortunes of war which, however much to be desired, is not likely to come soon enough to meet the need. Meanwhile British permission has been granted for a limited shipment to unoccupied France and Spain, and a Red Cross vessel will be dispatched within a few days. This is well enough so far as it goes; it is about equivalent to giving a medicine dropper of milk to one child in a hungry kindergarten. The crucial point in any general plan of relief is whether it is possible to get food to, say, the Belgians without having the Germans take it away from them or take an equivalent quantity of what they already have. If the British believed that could be done, one can scarcely doubt but that they would permit it. Mr. Hoover, who did that very thing during the First World War, believes it can be done again. But it was done then against Mr. Churchill's protest, and Mr. Churchill is in a more potent position now than he was then.

Polish Relief Is Effective

ARGUMENTS pro and con about the possibility of aiding the war-sufferers without indirectly helping the Germans, efforts to settle the whole question in the negative by saying "We don't trust Hitler," and all that sort of thing should carry less weight than the actual experience of those who are administering relief in an occupied country. The Poles certainly "trust Hitler" as little as anyone, but reports indicate that Polish relief is going forward successfully, without interference, and to a degree limited only by the available funds. The Commission for Polish Relief, which has had the cooperation of eleven agencies including the Red Cross and the Friends Service Committee, has recently published a report covering the expenditure of $901,722 for Polish relief. Supplies have been purchased in the Baltic states and, to a less degree, in other European countries. Relief has been furnished to needy Poles in several countries besides Poland. "In German-occupied Poland, where we now aid children only, an estimated 50,000 children in institutions and schools are being helped at present. However, our supplies are nearly exhausted and this work is about to stop *only because of lack of funds.*" "We can definitely assure our donors that all relief has gone solely to the needy Polish people for whom it was intended." "The incorporation of Vilna into Soviet Russia has in no way affected our relief work at that point. Mr. Redfern has continued steadily with the cooperation of the Russian authorities." "All of our distribution of Polish relief in all countries during the past year has been under American supervision." It ought some time to get through to the minds of those who oppose relief because they "don't trust Hitler" (and, for that matter, who does?) that there is at least one interest which Hitler and those who desire his defeat have in common: they are alike interested in preventing Europe from being swept by a wave of pestilence induced by starvation. And as a matter of fact, it seems that relief is going on in German-occupied Poland without interference and subject only to the limitations imposed by inadequate funds and by the necessity of relying upon supplies purchased in Europe.

A New Weekly for Methodism

COPIES of the *Christian Advocate* which are coming to hand these days bear the index figure, "Volume 116." But the paper is so unlike the seven whose places in the world of religious journalism it has taken, or any of its other predecessors in the long procession of Methodist weeklies, that it is no wonder that Methodists are speaking of it as "the *new* Christian Advocate" and thinking of it as a new publication. For years the editorial offices of denominational journals have echoed with calls for a type of journalism directed primarily at the laity. There have been a few fumbling attempts to produce something of the kind. Yet, aside from papers designed for use in Sunday schools and by young people's societies, denominational journalism has carried on its preoccupation chiefly with clerical interests. The results, as a high mortality rate has testified, have been anything but happy. Now, however, the Methodists are making the first serious Protestant attempt to produce a weekly for mass circulation. The Roman Catholics have been doing it for years, and doing it well. Their diocesan papers, following newspaper make-up and style, have built large circulations. The Methodists are confident that they can command as large an audience for their new type of church weekly; perhaps larger. Certainly they have begun well by choosing Dr. Roy L. Smith to edit the new venture, for if there is any man in Methodism who knows how to uncover lay interests and speak to the lay mind, Dr. Smith is that man. The staff which he has recruited gives ample assurance as to the high level of technical competence which will mark the paper. The work of Dr. Smith and his associates will be watched with interest, for there is every reason to expect that they will score a notable success.

New Jersey Court Upholds Race Hatred Law

UPHOLDING the New Jersey law which forbids the fomenting of racial hatred, the supreme court of that state recently confirmed the conviction and imprisonment of Bundesführer Kunze of the German-American Bund. The court thus highlighted one of the most difficult dilemmas of present-day democracy. Can our system of government, in which the civil guarantees of freedom of the press, of assembly and of speech are fundamental, permit nazis and communists to use these liberties in an effort to

set up their own systems, in which freedom is effectively denied? On the other hand, if freedom is denied to these minorities, who is able to prevent this denial from being used to deprive citizens of their democratic rights who find themselves in other minorities? The state of New Jersey, which contains a considerable share of the eight or ten thousand members of the bund, is attempting to set up a standard by which to deal with this dilemma. Its law does not make the mistake of penalizing people for their beliefs, but only for overt acts which jeopardize the unity and welfare of the state. There is some doubt whether such a law would in normal times pass the inspection of the federal Supreme Court, although now it might. Its weakness lies in the impossibility of measuring the psychological phenomenon known as hatred, and of neatly dividing the responsibility for its existence between the man who incites it and the citizen who yields to it. A far safer method of preserving civil liberties is for the community to assume responsibility for the free expression of ideas, short of incitement to violence, and to see to it that all meetings permit the free dissent of whoever is so inclined. Obviously no meeting whose sponsors are prepared to suppress dissent by private police in uniform is a free meeting, and there is no place for such gatherings in a free country. The fathers of the republic had faith that, given free education, the intelligence of the average citizen could be trusted to penetrate the pretensions of demagogues when exposed to free discussion. They believed that such movements are really dangerous only when they are driven underground.

The Christian Conscience and the Present Crisis

THE CONSCIENCE of American Christians is profoundly disturbed. At no time since its founding has this republic confronted the Christian church in its borders with a more searching and inescapable issue than that which its conscience is now pondering. The issue is made the more acute by the fact that the church has had ample time to reflect upon it. Our decision will be the result of a deliberation which was denied to others—to the people of Great Britain, of Germany, of the conquered lands. In the war now being waged, America is offered a choice in which, to all appearances, it has a live option. It can go into the war, or it can stay out. The decision rests with us. It is not forced upon us, as in the case of the belligerent or conquered peoples. Under the stress of events, their governments decided for them, and they accepted the decision as their own.

But the United States has been given a breathing space, an opportunity to think, to talk it over and finally to decide. To the Christian church in America this same breathing space has been given. It also has had time to think, to talk it over, to pray, and to decide whether or not the solemn sanctions of its holy faith should be given to this country's participation in the conflict. If there were an enemy at the gate, the decision would have seemed to have the character of inevitability and the church's moral responsibility to bear its testimony would not be so acutely felt. But there is no enemy at the gate. We have not been attacked, nor are we demonstrably threatened with attack. If we go into the war or stay out, it will be because we freely adopt one or the other course. And if the Christian church lends the sanctions of its conscience to the political decision to go in, it will have no excuse. Thus the Christian responsibility is more inward and more disturbing than if events had seemed to take the decision out of our hands.

Facing the present crisis, the sincere Christian is sensitive to considerations which are not likely to be taken into account by the political mind. To all the arguments pro and con which determine the attitude of the average citizen, there is added, in the case of the intelligent Christian, a consideration which derives directly from his faith. This consideration reflects his deepened sense of the responsibility of the Christian church for the future of civilization. The enlightened modern Christian feels far more vividly and deeply than his fathers felt that only Christianity can build a world order competent to create, to preserve and to enhance those values which are consonant with human dignity. Specifically, in the present situation the Christian conscience cannot rest in the assumption that the decision reached by the political mind unaided by Christian faith, will be a sound decision. The Christian conscience has become skeptical and apprehensive of all major political decisions in which the influence of Christianity is not positively present. It therefore is acutely conscious of its responsibility to introduce into the pending national decision that distinctively Christian point of view which it is Christianity's high calling to contribute.

I

A profound change has come about in the Christian mind during the past three-quarters of a century. This may be roughly characterized as the transfer of its primary interest from an "other world" to this world, from pietistic spirituality to social responsibility. This does not mean any withdrawal of interest in the "other world." It means that the "other world" and "this world" are one world, and that Christianity is the revelation of the unitary Reality of both. Jesus Christ, we are all now saying, and with a deepened conviction derived from a new insight, is the only solution of this world's problems. We are not content that the leaders of the world should continue to seek a solution of its problems without being confronted with the Reality to which the Christian church bears unique witness. The church has not effectively borne this witness in the past. It has been satisfied to leave political and economic institutions to their own autonomy, and to let them work out their problems within their own jurisdictions, while it concerned itself primarily with the salvation of individuals and the upbuilding of its own institutions.

No longer can the church be satisfied with this segregation of functions. Its own default has been disclosed by a civilization in collapse—a collapse that is both external and internal. The spirit of pride in the "conquests" of Christianity is giving way to a sense of guilt in the church's failure to establish the Christian faith at the basis of that very civilization which has professed the faith of Christianity for more than fifteen centuries. Self-searching and repentance are taking the place of pride. The Christian

conscience knows that something has gone wrong, something for which the Christian church must hold itself in a peculiar sense responsible before God, and it is haunted with a half-formed resolution that this "something" *must not be allowed to go wrong again.* This for the sake of the world that needs the Gospel, if there is to be anything like civilization at all; and for the sake of the church, if Christianity is not to be utterly discredited in the eyes of its own adherents and in the respect of mankind.

The Christian conscience now finds itself at the point where it must look inward upon itself and consider the course which it has taken in the past and come to terms with its unique responsibility for the future of the civilization in which it is the dominant faith. The crisis in the world has produced a crisis in the church. The crisis in the world is more extensive than the war and has been of longer duration—it has been gathering headway for generations past. The church was blind to the nature of the forces that were at work in Western civilization. It was under the illusion that these forces were its allies, and that they were operating to bring in a more and more Christian society.

It was blind to the nature of these forces because it was blind to the nature of its own gospel as the revelation of the only kind of world which conforms to the will of God or can satisfy the heart of man. But if God overlooked the times of this ignorance, he now commands his church to repent, for he has appointed this very day to judge both the world and the church. What does the church have to say in a day like this? What have its spokesmen to say, its prophets and preachers and teachers? What has its enlightened laity to say? Here is the rub in the conscience of those who bear the high responsibility of orienting the Christian community in this day of confusion, of anxiety, of spiritual distress and of divine judgment.

Never have Christian pastors experienced such soul-searching as they now undergo in uttering the Christian message. Testimonies of the clergy are heard on every hand in which the bravest and most devout confess their inability to reach a decision which they can proclaim with assurance that it reflects the mind of Christ. These are indeed times that try men's souls—and none so much as the souls of God's prophets. The church's leadership has a profound sense of needing to be led. The hungry sheep look up to hungrier shepherds. Even those who speak with most confidence betray a wistful uncertainty in their voice and leave open in their utterance a half-hidden way of exit if perchance they should prove to be mistaken. One of our most distinguished and potent preachers has just confessed in our presence his profound distress of soul as he probed our mind in search of help. But editors, too, for all their affectation of omniscience, are walking in the shadows by the side of the humblest of their readers. The Christian church is now a total community of confused minds, of hearts waiting for a sure word of God, of leaders whose voices are hushed until the live coal of prophecy touches their lips.

What is the cause of this distress of soul? The answer is as clear as the distress is unmistakable. It is the church's new vision of Christ! Christ stands in the gate of the Temple and we have to meet his gaze as we go in to pray. He stands in the gate of the City, and we have to meet him as we go in and out to our tasks. Not since the last apostle died have his followers had so clear a vision of his Person and so sure an intuition of his meaning for the world as have we. We are indebted to modern scholarship for bringing him back to us. Our scholarship has been loosing him from the grave-clothes in which ecclesiasticism and theology had all but buried him. Today he stands forth in a kind of second resurrection to rebuke our blindness and to recommission us to gather all nations before him.

The distress of the Christian conscience arises from the fact that though we see Christ with new eyes, we are not ready to follow him. We still persist in looking at the world from the standpoint of the world. We take our place within the existing political framework and see only what a political mentality sees. Our judgments are not drawn from our Christian faith, but from a pattern of reality which excludes the Christian faith. Yet our Christian faith is itself nothing less than a pattern of reality, the divine pattern given uniquely to the Christian church. But the church is unwilling really to believe its own words when it declares that Christ has the answer to the world's needs. There can be no peace of soul until it resolves this tension by obedience to him.

II

Meanwhile, the conscience of the church is beset with arguments designed to provide some way out of its distress other than obedience to its Lord. Surely Christ's way, it is insisted, cannot be a practicable way for Christians in this kind of world; we must be mistaken in claiming so much for him. Thus with a faith that is weakened by fear, we are ready to listen to some rationalization of the world's way, hoping thereby to escape the risk involved in following Christ's way. The result is that Christ's way goes untried and the world plunges into deeper chaos.

One of the most ingenious of these rationalizations has come to the fore in the present crisis. It is not a new device but the reopening of an old and discredited way by which the church in the past has obscured the Figure of Christ and thereby relieved itself of the obligation to follow his way of life. This rationalization of escape from the moral constraint which the living presence of Christ lays upon his followers is offered to the church in the form of a revival of a theological concept. It emphasizes again the dichotomy between "this world" and an "other world," between the Christian as a man of this world and as a child of grace. Instead of seeing Christ as the disclosure of God's way of life for man in this world, it sees Christ as the salvager of individual souls from the sin in which life in this world necessarily involves them.

It is affirmed with strong emphasis that, as a man of the world, the Christian is inextricably bound up with the relativities of the temporal order. Action on this level inevitably involves him in sin, because he has to choose, not between good and bad, but between bad and worse. He cannot be perfect. He is bound to be a sinner. The gospel is the good news not that Christ can save the world, but that he can save man out of the world.

That there is need of reviving the profound Christian insight that all human decisions are infected with sin, there can be no question. Liberal Protestantism had all but for-

gotten it in its activistic endeavor, under the impulse of what it nobly called the social gospel, to drive home to the church its Christian responsibility for the character of human society. It tended all too easily toward a shallow moralism which, in effect, forgot, if it did not deny, the redemptive content of the gospel.

The current emphasis upon the inevitability of evil in the human choices necessitated by man's living in a world of relative values and relative means for attaining them is a sound emphasis. But the polemical use that is made of it in the present crisis is unsound, unjust and perilous for the Christian faith. In effect, Christians are asked to banish Christ from his place in the gate of the Temple and the gate of the City, and to relegate him to a "higher" place in some transcendental sphere well removed from the gross realities and relativities of the temporal scene. With Christ thus lifted far above the relativities of this world, the Christian is then left free to go bravely about his necessary sinning in the real world without confronting Christ or being bothered by him. True, the transcendent Christ keeps him aware of his sinfulness. Thus aware, he can withdraw into the transcendental world where Christ waits to mediate the divine grace of forgiveness and cleansing from his sin.

Christ is relegated to a "superhistorical" sphere of absolute perfection. The so-called Christian law of life is held up as an absolute perfectionist ideal. It is clothed in an intolerable paradox called the "impossible possible." The Christian who insists that he must try to live according to the law of Christ is described as a "perfectionist." Insofar as such a one takes Christ seriously he must take himself out of the world. He becomes virtually an ascetic, and can have no realistic part in the solving of the world's problems. In the circles where this view is held, it has become the fashion to patronize such Christians with an amiable tolerance or to hold them up to scorn. They are patted on the back as harmless imitators of St. Francis of Assisi, or stigmatized as parasites in a social order which exists at all only because other men sin bravely to maintain it.

III

Abruptly, we are compelled to say that the current use to which this argument is put is nothing but a case of throwing theological dust in the air. Many have been blinded by it and have lost their vision of Christ and the moral demands which he makes upon the church of which he is the living Head. The Figure of Christ is always in danger of fading into an abstract theological principle. The simple truth is that neither Christ himself nor those who in utter devotion take him as their way of life can be characterized as perfectionist. His life in the flesh was a life of relativity. His living presence in history is bounded by the relativities of this world. So also must the lives of his followers be.

The apologists for this theological emphasis take the pacifist as their favorite whipping boy. The fact that their polemic has appeared as a rationalization and justification of war is enough to cause it to be suspect by the Christian conscience. But the injustice of describing the war resister as a perfectionist should be apparent. There is no warrant in the theological position which this view emphasizes, for applying it to the Christian who tries to follow Christ. Its application to the pacifist is a non sequitur, and can be made plausible only by a gross distortion of his position. The so-called "absolutism" of the pacifist is an "absolute" *decision,* not the adoption or the pretension of perfection. But the "absoluteness" of his decision is itself relative. No human being can make a literally *absolute* decision. Luther's decision at Worms was as absolute as that of the pacifist, but it was not absolute in the perfectionist sense. Even a marriage vow is not absolute in the sense imputed by his critics to the pacifist. The pacifist has made a decision in the light of what seems to him to be the mind of Christ, but neither his decision nor the course of action which it entails takes him out of the sphere of relativity. He is as truly a sinful relativist, and knows himself to be such, as is the war defender.

The difference between the two is not a difference between the relative and the absolute, but between two relatives. The one adopts war because he thinks it is the lesser of two evils; the other rejects war because he thinks it is the greater evil. But his decision is not a mere negative rejection: he has a constructive alternative which, though he has learned it at the feet of Christ, is still relative. The war defender has no monopoly on relativity. Nor has he a monopoly on the conscious need of divine grace. The Christian pacifist stands with the war defender in the same world of relative values and relative means for their attainment, and he knows—our observation is that he knows more profoundly than the war defender—that he stands always in need of grace.

We are not defending the pacifist position; we are defending the pacifist himself against a false characterization which an uneasy Christian conscience is too ready to adopt under cover of an attempt to provide war with a theological rationalization. But even the defense of the pacifist is not the primary purpose of our discussion. Its primary purpose is to help keep the Figure of Christ from fading out of the Christian conscience. The slump of the Christian mind into this rationalization would sacrifice the most precious gain which the church has made in the past century, namely, its rediscovery of the historical Jesus. For us now to relegate him to the realm of perfectionism, of absolutism, is to deny the Incarnation and to fall into the old Gnostic heresy which is the perennial enemy of the Christian faith.

IV

The distress of the Christian conscience is the most encouraging fact amid the present confusion. In times of past wars, the conscience of the church was not deeply perturbed. The Christian took his place more or less automatically in the existing political framework and accepted the decisions of the state without question. Christ did not seriously trouble him. The church itself trailed along behind the chariot of Mars, unaware of the sorry spectacle it presented. This was chiefly because the Figure of Christ had been obscured by the abstractions of theology.

It is the reappearance of Christ as a living presence in the church that has made the war issue the crucial thing it is in the hearts of modern Christian men and women. Whether those eight young ministers in a New York prison have found the Christian answer to war is a matter for

each of us to decide for himself. But mistaken or right, as we may judge them to be, on the specific course they have chosen, they have seen the face of Christ, and no theologizing can rob them of that vision. It is better to be wrong in the light of his face than to be right and no longer to see him. Today Christ stands in the gate. Woe to his church if its theologians entice its conscience to relegate him again to some other world than this which he came to redeem.

No Compromise!

THE PRESIDENT'S bill "to promote the defense of the United States" is in its effect a bill to put the United States into the war and to shift the government of this country from its democratic basis to a dictatorship. It is the most un-American proposal which the American people have ever had seriously to consider. Congress is asked to abdicate its constitutional responsibility and to leave the nation's orientation in its world relationships subject to the wisdom and discretion of the President. The grants of power to the executive which the bill carries make it a blueprint of totalitarianism. It spells the deliberate surrender of this nation to the ideology of the nazi-fascist order against which the President alleges that his war is to be waged.

Thus, for the moment, Congress holds the power to deliver the nation to a dictatorship or to rescue it from the threat of one. Three courses lie open to it. It can abdicate its power as the German reichstag did, as the Italian chamber of deputies did, as the Polish parliament did, as all democracies which have gone totalitarian have done, and make itself the rubber stamp of a dictator, with all the consequences to the people of the United States which that supine course will entail. Or it can timidly exercise its power by revising the bill here and there, hoping thereby to retain some shred of its constitutional authority or to recover it at some future date. Or it can reject the bill altogether and write a new one designed to speed up the preparedness program on the basis of national defense, rather than on the assumption of American belligerency in the existing war.

Of these three courses, it is hardly probable that Congress will adopt the first. It is highly improbable that the President expected his bill to pass without modification. It contains numerous features which lend themselves to trading purposes. Congress can take advantage of these openings for revision and thus make a display of its prerogative, hoping to save its face and create a popular impression that it has not abdicated its responsibility. This is the course which, it is to be feared, will be chosen. It will be put forward as a compromise; the public clamor against taking the United States into the war will be appeased, and Congress will cherish the illusion that it is still a functioning part of the system of checks and balances of power provided by the Constitution.

Against such a compromise, those who would keep this country out of war must now bring the full weight of their most vigorous protest. The wings of the President's now fully disclosed purpose to force the nation into war cannot be clipped by merely modifying certain features of his bill. He can be estopped in his determination only by a Congress which is equally determined and by an upsurge of public indignation which will let Congress know that the President's singlehanded commitment of this country to war means that he will enter it with a deeply divided nation behind him.

Any compromise with this presidential determination is futile. To put a time limit of two years, or even of ninety days, upon the exercise of the powers which the bill would transfer to the President, is to take refuge in an illusion. Once these powers are in the President's hands, they will be consolidated by irreversible decisions which will demand their indefinite extension. Mr. Roosevelt's cleverness in evading or circumventing the spirit and plain intent of statutory law has been demonstrated to the point where it is actually acclaimed as a virtue. It is naive to imagine that any compromises written into his war bill will bind him. His resourcefulness in discovering supra-legal ways of doing illegal things has been repeatedly demonstrated. When this uncanny gift is united with the power which his high office gives him to create one *fait accompli* after another, each seeming to be determined by its antecedent and each seeming to make its subsequent inevitable, it is foolish to imagine that any compromise or reservation written into the pending bill will have a featherweight of effect in blocking our entrance into war. The only way to block America's entrance into war is to block this bill—in its entirety—and to write a new one in which the major premise of this bill is displaced by the major premise of national defense.

By taking this country into war, Mr. Roosevelt will have done what no President ever did before. Throughout our history it has been the people who took the President into war. The determination to fight was generated in the channels of the democratic process, the President meanwhile exercising his powers with patience until the public will had crystallized. When at last he spoke the fatal word, the people heard it with awe as the expression of their own full-formed purpose. This, as we said last week, was true of Lincoln, of McKinley, of Wilson. But Mr. Roosevelt, having shattered the most venerable tradition of the presidency and won election to a third term, has thrown off all restraint of *democratic* leadership and audaciously proposes to lead a divided nation into the grave issue of world conflict.

The very daring of it dazzles his partisan supporters who applauded his third term candidacy as a brilliant stroke. They will follow him in war as they followed him in the election, and for the same reasons. Others whose eyes are not blinded to the trend of the President's course will resist to the last trench. But between these two wings of our citizenry are many who are not dazzled but dazed by the implications of such leadership. The President must know something that we do not know, they say; something decisive. And after all, if he takes us into war, as he himself has said it is possible for the President to do, the very life of the nation will then depend upon the unity of the national will in support of it.

This mood of instinctive and uncritical popular loyalty is the basis of the President's confidence. Once the die is cast, and the life of the nation is at stake, he can count

upon the people to forget their reluctance, their lack of conviction and their overt protests. The President has reached that point of fateful decision in the war bill which he has now placed before Congress. He does not ask for a declaration of war—that he could not get. Nor does he need it. Who cares about a declaration of war nowadays, anyhow? The *fact* of war can easily be brought to pass without its being proclaimed as war. Congress is being asked to put the nation into war without regard to the old-fashioned provision of a horse and buggy Constitution which vests in Congress alone the power to declare war.

Will Congress see through the subterfuge? Of course it does see through it. But will Congress have the courage and the patriotism to hold on to its constitutional prerogative in the face of the President's irresponsible assumption of the right to exercise it himself? Its answer will be given in the disposition which it makes of the pending bill. The fate of our democracy is in the hands of this Congress. By its vote on this bill it will tell the President that he cannot dictate a war; or it will tell him that he can. It will tell him that if there is to be war, the American people through their legislative representatives will determine the time, the place and the enemy; or it will abdicate in his favor, confess that we are already a dictatorship, and that he is our Führer.

By its vote on this bill, Congress will tell the American people that their nation is still a democracy, that they still have a Congress, and that Congress is not to be scaremongered or browbeaten into the renunciation of the solemn responsibility which its members assumed when they took their oaths of office; or it will tell them that Congress has decided to proceed on the assumption that constitutional democracy has been laid on the shelf. It will further tell the American people that the long neglected business within our own borders is more important for the future of democracy and of humanity than any contribution this country can make by yielding to the hopeless illusion or the gratuitously imposed duty to which the President has yielded on their behalf; or it will tell them that they must be ready to face economic and cultural chaos at home in the distant day when the war is over.

More than this. If Congress rejects this bill and writes a new one, it will tell the nations now at war that the American people do not regard this war as their war; that, if they will let us, we will go farther than any people has ever gone in succoring the wounded, the famishing and the plague-ridden victims of the war, and that we will explore every possibility of bringing about a peace with justice and hope, but with neither appeasement nor victory. Or, if it adopts this bill, in whole or in substance, it will tell the world that America will cruelly help in the prolongation of the slaughter and the starvation of men, women and children, until the last vestiges of Western civilization are destroyed, adding the slaughter of our own sons and the sacrifice of our priceless democratic inheritance.

Such is the issue as Congress faces it. The seventy-seventh Congress is the last bulwark for the protection of American democracy against the daring encroachments of a President who is willing to assume the terrific responsibility of taking an unwilling nation into war. Not Great Britain, but this Congress is the front line of America's defense. Will the citizenship of the nation make its will known—unmistakably and overwhelmingly known—to those who have the responsibility and the power to save America before it is too late?

'Courage Is Patience'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A man, so the Moslems say, once asked the Prophet to define courage. The Prophet answered, "Courage is patience." I have read many eloquent words upon courage. I have listened to exhortations to be fearless. But I do not think I have heard anything which goes nearer to the roots of the matter.

To be frank, I should not go for light upon this virtue to those who boast that they are not afraid, still less to those who parade the courage of their fathers and shine in a light borrowed from them. The significant fact, as Mr. Chesterton once said, is that these fathers themselves never boasted at all. The modern inheritor of the mighty minds of old might declare that in him lived their heroic spirit. But they confessed that they were in themselves weak and helpless. However, you know in a fight which you would choose to have with you. Those Puritans, Covenanters, Crusaders of all kinds in all ages, were given a staying power without which all brave words and high resolves are of no avail. Courage for them was patience.

Bunyan, little as he would care for the support of the Prophet, would have agreed with him on this matter. It was pointed out by Bernard Shaw that when Bunyan tried to draw a coward he drew Mr. Fearing, one of the most magnificently brave of all men. Do you agree that if anyone doubted the greatness of Bunyan he could be confounded and brought to confusion by the tale of Mr. Fearing? How patient he was! When he came to the Interpreter's door "he lay thereabout in the cold a good while before he would adventure to call, yet he would not go back. And the nights were long and cold then."

Where these valiant men differed from some of us was in their interpretation of the good fight in the race of life. If life were a blitzkrieg it would require other qualities, but if it is a long campaign everything depends upon patience. If it were a short race, life might be a very different thing. The start would be all-important. The runner goes all out from the pistol. But if life is a long-distance race, then the equivalent of patience is needed. He that endures to the end wins.

Do you come, as the years go on, to rearrange in a different order the qualities which you admire in men? And among the virtues promoted to the first places do you not set this power to go on doggedly, no matter what the outward situation may be? The man who does not look out for a way of escape when the battle goes hard, the man who does not become tired in the afternoon of life, the man who will not turn back—these are the men for us, at least after we have passed the time of life in which brilliancy dazzles us. I think the Prophet was right. No patience, no courage!

Ever yours,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

If America is drawn into the war, can you, as a Christian, participate in it or support it?

By Harry Emerson Fosdick

Eighth in a Series of Ten Answers

IN REPLYING to the question proposed by The Christian Century, "If America is drawn into war, can you, as a Christian, participate in it or support it?" my answer must be, No!

As I understand the matter, this inquiry is to be taken as intimate and personal. I am not asked to discuss in the abstract "absolute" and "doctrinaire" pacifism, concerning which I should have to be critical. I am not asked what I would do were I a Chinese or an Englishman, although the answer may be implied in what I say. I am not asked what I would do were I a layman of draft age. If I understand myself I should be a conscientious objector, asking for alternative civilian service, the harder the better. The question proposed faces me, a minister of Christ in the United States today, with the practical inquiry: If this nation now becomes an active belligerent, will I support the war?

I

In answering I propose mainly to present my minimal position, the place where no matter how urgent the national necessities may seem to be, I know I must take my stand. That minimal position seems clear: I can never use my Christian ministry in the support and sanction of war.

During the last war I did so use my ministry. I was ready to declare war, as some of my brethren are today, even before the nation was. I, a minister of Christ, went all out for the backing of the fray, and was proud when, in France, after an address to the troops, an officer told me I was worth a battalion. To be sure, it cost a struggle. The whole business of war, the causes that produce it, the processes that characterize it, the moral consequences that accompany it, are too obviously the denial of everything that Jesus taught, for a minister easily to fit Christ into a military uniform. I twisted and turned every which way to harmonize war and the Christian ethic, preaching against hate, praying for the Germans, and arguing beautifully about the way we could slaughter them in the spirit of love. My rationalizations in trying to make that oil and water mix arouse my wonder at their ingenuity and my shame at their futility, and the crux of my regret is that I so used my Christian ministry, as though such holloaing after the dogs of war were the function of the church of Christ.

Today when I picture Christ in this warring world I can see him in one place only, not arrayed in the panoply of battle on either side, but on his judgment seat, sitting in condemnation on all of us—aggressor, defender, neutral—who by our joint guilt have involved ourselves in a way of life that denies everything he stood for. The function of the church is to keep him there, above the strife, representing a manner of living, the utter antithesis of war, to which mankind must return if we are to have any hope. But the Christian ministry does not keep him there by throwing itself, generation after generation, into the support and sanction of the nation's wars. Rather it drags him down, until the people, listening, can feel little if any difference between what Christ says and what Mars wants. It is not the function of the Christian church to help win a war. A church that becomes an adjunct to a war department has denied its ministry. The function of the church is to keep Christ where he belongs, upon his judgment seat, condemner of our joint guilt, chastener of our impenitent pride, guide to our only hope.

II

This does not mean that in the present world-wide conflict I am neutral. These last months I have sometimes thought I lived more in Britain and China than at home, so keen have been my sympathies, so deep my apprehensions, so desperate my hopes. Obviously it makes a difference to us which side wins. The Christian minister, maintaining the position for which I plead, lives in no ivory tower apart from the realistic facts, but under terrific tension, with a warring world on one side, in which his personal emotions and his nation's interests are involved, and with Christ upon the other; but he accepts the *tension,* and does not try to resolve it by reducing Christ to the level of the warring world.

This does not mean that I am uncritical of pacifism as it sometimes is presented. Some pacifists seem to me to drift unwittingly into philosophical anarchism, denying the rightful functions of the state, blind to the incalculable benefits that arise when private force is supplanted by public force for the good of all, falsely resting their case on opposition to all force rather than on a distinction between salutary and diabolical uses of it, and unrealistic about the necessities of social coercion, whether through municipal police or through international police when a world government has been created. Some pacifism seems to me merely individualistic and negative, as though a few individuals, refusing the fight, were the solution of the peace problem, when only a federation of the nations, a unified world order, can present an ultimate substitute for war.

Some pacifists seem to me far too complacent, as though by refusing any part in war themselves, they washed their hands of the common guilt that involves us all, from the burden of whose consequence the conscientious soldier feels he cannot ask exemption. And some pacifism becomes mere passiveness, as though one who let himself be a doormat for aggressive evil to wipe its feet on were really a peace-maker, whereas to be *that* always involves a whole battery of positive moral qualities issuing from creative good will, and commonly involves obdurate,

sacrificial resistance to evil, even if violent means are eschewed.

Yet, while I am neither neutral nor a contented absolutist in my pacifism, I come back to my position, sure that I must maintain it: I will not prostitute the ministry of Jesus Christ to the sanction and support of war.

III

In this position a conviction is involved concerning the meaning of Christ's life and teaching. That the spirit, methods, processes, accompaniments and results of war are the complete denial of Jesus' ethic, that war stands for everything he was against, and against everything he was for, seems to me clear. Surely, the least we can do is to say with the Oxford Conference: "War involves compulsory enmity, diabolical outrage against human personality and a wanton distortion of the truth. War is a particular demonstration of the power of sin in this world, and a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and him crucified."

Whether one studies the texts in detail—read, for example, MacGregor's *The New Testament Basis of Pacifism*—or considers the whole bent and meaning of Jesus' teaching and his way of life, the endeavor to harmonize him with war seems to me impossible. If nothing else persuaded me to be a pacifist, I think I should be persuaded by the sophisticated rationalizations, the wishful twisting of texts out of contexts, the dreadful perversions of Jesus' most characteristic teaching, by which the churchly supporters of war try to get Christ to be their yes-man.

I can indeed understand one who, seeing no possibility of compromise between Christ's ethic and war, says frankly that Christ's ethic is at present inapplicable, that it represents an ideal hope, not a program of present action. That, at least, is a clear-headed facing of the issue involved in a Christian's decision about war, and is a candid surrender of Jesus' way of life as a guide to conduct. But it leads to the substitution of theology, ecclesiasticism or ritualism for the spirit and teaching of Christ, and its outcome Westermarck correctly described in his *Christianity and Morals:* "War is the rock on which Christian principles have suffered the most miserable shipwreck." Full of sympathy, as one must be, with men and nations in this brutal world who see no possibility of being ethically Christian in their desperate emergencies, surely the Christian minister has no right to lower his flag. This agelong conflict, this head-on collision, between war and the ethic of Jesus, will not be resolved by the abject surrender of Christ's representatives every time that war comes on.

IV

Involved in this position, along with such conviction regarding Christ's spirit and way of life, is a factual judgment about this present situation. I have said that it makes a difference to us who wins this war, but how much difference it makes has yet to be decided. We, the democracies, with smashing completeness won the last war. We had the world in our hands and could do what we would. As to what we did and did not do, the bill of particulars has often been written, and the all but unanimous judgment seems to be that we, the democracies, are just as responsible for the rise of the dictators as the dictatorships themselves, and perhaps more so. Even President Butler, of Columbia University, says: "That great war, with all its terrible sacrifice of life, of the comfort and happiness of tens of millions of human beings and of the world's savings for generations, was absolutely futile."

In that outcome to war, even when democracies win it, there is nothing unique. When we moderns begin a war we no longer "draw the sword," but rather start a forest fire that stops at nothing, spares nobody, destroys everything, creates naught but havoc. With Europe and Asia devastated, with famine and pestilence awaiting their terrible innings, with economic prostration and social revolution trailing after them, and with Stalin hoping to become the residuary legatee of a ruined continent, it is still an open question what anybody's "winning" of this war may mean. But it is not an open question that if any creative consequence is to be snatched from the havoc, it will come from such spiritual forces as may still be left intact.

Do we Christians really believe that? Does not that fact create the special function of the church? This gospel of Christ, which in wartime we are tempted to compromise, postpone as too ideal for present application, put into cold storage or quite explicitly deny, is really the hope of the world. Should not the Christian ministry keep that fact central? What business has the minister throwing the weight of his influence on the side of war? What place in the Christian economy have sermons entitled "To Arms! To Arms!"?

V

My personal judgment is that for the United States to become a belligerent in this conflict would be a colossal and futile disaster and, along with millions of others, I should hold that judgment, pacifist or no pacifist. What if, however, the United States were invaded? That, I think, is not a practical possibility and never has been, but it is continually presented as a test case to those who do not propose to use their ministry in support of war. What would we do in case of invasion? My own answer is clear: resist, whether by violent or non-violent means.

The identification of pacifism with mere submissiveness is a familiar misunderstanding. Denmark is used as an example of pacifism. That seems to me a case of mistaken identity. Denmark, under necessity, submitted. Gandhi, however, has never submitted, but has organized tireless, incorrigible, courageous, non-violent resistance. I profoundly admire him, and venture to predict a long and influential future for his ideas and methods. If, however, someone says that, under present circumstances, to rely on America's meeting invasion with a mass movement of non-violent resistance is trusting moonshine, I agree. America is utterly unprepared for such a process. When I hear that plan proposed as a realistic alternative to armed resistance in the United States today, I am entirely incredulous. Even Gandhi, with his long training of his people in his ideas and techniques, would face a brand new problem if, in Winston Churchill's ominous words, Hitler should "stand at the gates of India."

Nevertheless, non-violent resistance—tireless, incorrigible refusal of participation in tyranny and of subjection to it—is today one of the major hopes of Europe in countries like Norway, Holland, Belgium. At least when military resistance breaks down and a nation faces the choice between submission on the one side and, on the other, the pacifist method—obstinate, courageous, non-violent resistance—the latter can determine the course of history, and those who are at work on its basic ideas and practical methods are about important business.

If our country were invaded, therefore, I should say resist, each according to his best conscience, by violent or non-violent means. The pacifists have not been dubious or mealy-mouthed about this matter. Muriel Lester quotes with approval the assertion of Gandhi that it is better to fight than to do nothing. Leyton Richards, one of the leading pacifist ministers of England in both the last war and this one, says: "If a man has not seized the significance of the Christian reaction to aggressive evil as seen in the way of Jesus, it is better to react by way of war than not to act at all." And A. J. Muste, who is a pacifist if ever there was one, writes: "Personally, I believe that resistance to evil and oppression, even if it takes a violent form, is on a higher moral plane than cowardly or passive acquiescence."

Nevertheless, even in case of invasion, I should hold to my position. Honoring the consciences of all who resist aggressive evil whether by violent or non-violent means, trying in the church I serve to minister alike to the needs of the conscientious objector and the conscientious soldier, all the more in such a crisis I should try to keep Christ where he belongs—on his judgment seat, above the strife, standing for a way of life that condemns both aggressor and defender, and offers the only hope of salvation from their joint guilt and their insensate brutality. I will not use my Christian ministry to bless war.

VI

To be sure, I distrust the judgment of any man so contented with his attitude in this complicated crisis that he thinks he has escaped inconsistency. We pacifists need humbly to confess that we are deeply involved in the war system and cannot pretend that we purely wash our hands of it. Like a socialist fighting the profit system who is at leisure to do so because he owns stock on whose profits he can live, so, like everyone else, we are inextricably entangled in the very war system we disclaim and are trying to displace.

We say we will not support war, but we do support it in every tax we pay, and we have no intention of imitating Thoreau's inane refusal. We know that vast armaments are essentially anti-Christian, and yet we know too that disarmament can never be unilateral, that when disarmament comes it must come by mutual international agreement, and so we have habitually taken our national army and navy for granted and now take for granted their inevitable enlargement. We see clearly that a war for democracy is a contradiction in terms, that war itself is democracy's chief enemy, and that after every world war, whoever wins it, there is bound to be less democracy than there was before, yet we see too that the military victory of Hitler is the worse of two evils, that American bombing planes going to Britain may give democracy at least a breathing space, and may conceivably save us here from plunging into active belligerency.

Moreover, sure as we are that we stand for convictions which in the long run are the world's hope, we nonetheless recognize that in the immediate emergency were our attitude to become predominant and controlling on one side of the battle line and not on the other, the worse of two evils might temporarily be strengthened by the very stand that so conscientiously we take.

If the pacifist finds himself so involved in difficulty, the Christian who supports war, and especially the Christian minister who throws his influence as Christ's representative into the waging of war, seem to me utterly distraught by self-contradiction. Christ and the bombing of civilians, the Sermon on the Mount and the starving of whole populations, every essential element in the gospel on one side, and on the other every "diabolical outrage against human personality"—it may be difficult to choose between them, but what can one say about trying to amalgamate them?

Let the Christian non-pacifist get this matter down out of the abstract into the concrete, stripped of the sentimental romanticism with which once more the "glory of war" is being clothed, and let him see war as it actually is! In the last war an officer drilling a group of boys in the use of the bayonet said this: "You've got to get down and hook them out with a bayonet; you will enjoy that, I assure you. Get sympathy out of your head. We go out to kill. We don't care how so long as they are killed. . . . And I say to you, if you see a wounded German, shove him out and have no nonsense about it. . . . Kill them, every mother's son of them. Remember that your job is to kill them—that is the only way—exterminate the vile creatures." That, along with innumerable things like that, on a scale more terrible than any previous conflict knew, *is* war, and when a minister of Christ supports war, that is what he is supporting.

VII

Well aware of the difficulties of my own position, I watch with deep concern the endeavors of Christian ministers to subsume war under Christian categories. A sermon lies before me in which the preacher urges that because God sends men to hell—an obviously coercive process!—therefore Christians may use violence in war. All the way from *that* the devious arguments range to and fro, and up and down, until I find one eminent and fine-spirited preacher, laboring with the text, "God is love," who concludes that bombing planes can be one expression of the divine compassion and that "men may be forced at times, *in the service of love* [the italics are his], to use weapons which strike down the innocent as well as the guilty." Am I wrong in being horrified at that?

Whichever side a man espouses, let him not suppose he can extricate himself from inconsistency! Humility becomes us all. Nevertheless, facing the choice between the two, I think I see where the clearer ground is and the better hope of maintaining our Christian testimony unimpaired.

Meanwhile, to the limit of our ability, let us keep our Christian fellowship intact! Dr. Tittle is right: "Christian fellowship cannot survive internationally unless it survives locally. It cannot possibly be maintained in the ends of the earth unless it is maintained in the church on the corner." As the crisis thickens this will grow more difficult; in some cases it will doubtless be impossible; some churches will be torn asunder by the war-psychosis and some ministers will lose their pulpits. Hard as it is to discover the truly Christian position in this crisis, it is often harder to maintain it in a Christian spirit when one thinks one has found it. I see letters written by Christian pacifists to their non-pacifist brethren that for bitterness, acrimony, venom and dogmatism pass all decent bounds; and I see statements made by Christian non-pacifists about their pacifist fellows that for scorn, misrepresentation, rancor and contemptuousness are appalling. There is no hope in such a spirit. Unless we Christians can maintain humility, a joint penitence, good will, and a sincere respect for one another's consciences within our churches, we cannot help the world much in maintaining such attitudes, without which we and the world alike are doomed.

Nevertheless, if the issue is drawn, some of us will have to abide by the consequences. We will not use our Christian ministry to support war. As for myself, I am essentially a Quaker, and my convictions belong in what seems to me the great tradition of the Society of Friends.

The Pattern for War Is Repeated

By Oswald Garrison Villard

THE PATTERN for war which is now being worked out under our very eyes seems to me in many ways the most astounding repetition of history in recent times. There are certain differences, of course, as was inevitable with the two presidents concerned. But in the main what we are witnessing is the story of 1915-17 over again. Indubitably the British have a far better case for American sympathy than in the earlier war, despite the fact that the stupidity and shortsightedness of their statesmen ever since the making of the Treaty of Versailles are in very considerable measure responsible for the coming of the Second World War. Again, there has been no such appeal to American emotion as that caused by the murder of American citizens bound for Europe on the Lusitania and other vessels.

Finance and Business Hold Back

The attitude of big business is another exception. In the last war the Morgans and others were openly expressing their eagerness to have us enter the war, and had a tremendous financial stake in our getting in. Today big business is not eager for what President Roosevelt called at Chautauqua the "fool's gold" of war profits. The head of the United States Chamber of Commerce, James S. Kemper, has repeatedly warned American business that involvement in a war would probably lead to national bankruptcy and that the European dictators came into power in consequence of national bankruptcy. He has asserted that participation in war might change "our whole social and economic system."

What Mr. Kemper has said has been echoed by a number of other business leaders, with the result that they are dubbed "appeasers." Undoubtedly the fear of socialism as well as of bankruptcy and of revolution, and fear of the repetition of the post-war economic depression, have a great deal to do with the attitude of big business men. They burned their fingers before and have lost much more during the long continued depression than they made during the First World War. Whatever may come out of the present campaign to put us into the struggle, it will be impossible in the future to blame international bankers or international business men.

No Counting of the Cost

In other respects, however, the pattern is almost precisely the same. Just as many of the intellectuals, particularly on the eastern seaboard, lost their balance and were carried away by their emotions a quarter-century ago, so the intellectuals of today are traveling the same road. Indeed, they are open to a greater indictment than in the last struggle. This time fear has really laid strong hands upon them. It is astounding how many men, even some who risked imprisonment in the last war by their opposition, are now declaring that this war is an exception. The leaders of much of this rush to war are university professors; some of the political science faculties are unitedly for our entering the war at once, and are no more counting the cost in human suffering and misery than they were in the last struggle.

These academicians are blithely combating the idea that if we go into the war we shall be a totalitarian state; they are upbraiding persons like the writer who think that we shall come out a dictatorship and point to the fact that we did not lose our democracy after the last war as proof of the correctness of their attitude. Yet I do not hear a single one of them ever evidence by a single word that he is even thinking of what our entry into the war will mean in the toll of human existences ended in early youth, of the thousands who may be immured for life in veterans' hospitals, hopeless wrecks, as is the case today, or even mention the horrible sufferings that those who are wounded and survive are called upon to endure. Those things are written down as among the sacrifices, and apparently the lesser ones, that America must cheerfully make in order to preserve democracy.

There are still other familiar threads in this pattern for war. Again the mass of the people is opposed, as every Gallup poll has shown. Again it is a minority, rich and

powerful, which is taking the lead, and again chiefly in the east. It is once more fashionable to enter war work. The Back Bay and Park Avenue have again struck hands in their zeal to wrap bundles for Britain, to send overcoats and ambulances and to knit innumerable garments. They have the power to organize and the means and the time for it. They are the ones who hold bridge parties and balls, and their husbands cheerfully pick paper stars, at $10 a star, off the practically nude Gypsy Rose Lee—all for dear old England.

No one can charge the idle rich with being idle now, any more than was the case after the sinking of the Lusitania. They and the college professors, and the editors of liberal journals, and numerous other groups are showing what minority pressure plus organization can accomplish. They are bound to impose their will in this matter upon the country even if the Gallup polls continue to show that 85 per cent of the American people are opposed to going to war, precisely as the small pressure group that put over conscription gave a most brilliant example of what money, quick organization and knowing the ropes in Washington can accomplish with the aid of some of the most powerful newspapers in the country.

A Familiar Newspaper Technique

The newspapers as a whole are reacting just as they did twenty-five years ago. The more radical peace groups with their less influential leaders and membership are lucky when they get a couple of sticks of type on the twenty-third page. Verne Marshall gets the first pages partly because he is himself a newspaper editor, partly because he understands publicity, and partly because those opposed to him think they can best dispose of him by featuring some rather rash statements that he makes, his ineptness, and the record of the man who, he says, is his chief financial backer. The America First Committee has fared well because of the prominence, especially in the business world, of its leader and some of its members. No newspaper is apt to ignore the head of Sears, Roebuck and Company. But the cartoonists are again given full swing to portray the alleged dangers to America and to bring out the wickednesses and cruelties and stupidities of the dictators. Only a few dailies are really striving to keep the country at peace, at least in the east. The southern press, too, is distinctly belligerent. All these papers lend themselves readily to the "smearing" of opponents by describing them as appeasers and fifth columnists or even German agents.

In the last pre-war campaign for American participation we did not have these particular names and adjectives, which are themselves the product either of the last war or of the actions of the British statesmen up to the time of the coming of the present one. In 1915 and 1916 the terrible offense was to be a pacifist. It is now considered one of the gravest offenses to be unwilling to fight to save England. Here, however, the present pattern deviates. It is now a disgrace to be an advocate of America first. I heard a Harvard professor the other night treating the America First Committee as if its members were convicted fifth columnists and traitors.

It used to be considered a matter of course that Americans should stand for America first. Those who stood for the League of Nations, for internationalism of the true cooperative type, were denounced by the Lodges and their allies as bad Americans. Of course the opposition to those who stand for America first now is not due in most cases to a desire for a real cooperation of all nations: America simply must not be put ahead of England. A committee called "America and England First, Plus France If It Does What We Wish," would probably be beyond attack.

Resort to Calling Names

As in the previous instance, passion and bitterness and name-calling are all on the side of those who want us to go to war. It has always been an interesting fact that that is the case even when no wars are on. If then you oppose large armaments you instantly are confronted by a vindictive desire to punish you and to hold you up to scorn. Your motives are suspect and any committee which relies upon public contributions must show that it is not receiving aid from men who prior to the present war, or the last war, were dealing with the "Huns." When war comes there will be the same mobbing of all who dare to stand out against the President's policy, but it will be worse this time because President Roosevelt is now setting the example. These words he used in his message to Congress: "The best way of dealing with a few slackers or troublemakers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of government to save government." Such words are unprecedented in our history. It was the first time that a President of the United States has threatened to use the power of the government in peacetime to suppress criticism and dissent—this in a democracy!

Similarly, the President's statement at one of his press conferences that there would soon be Liberty bond issues and that those bonds would be made the test of the loyalty of all persons with means to subscribe for them, opens the door to a repetition of the dragooning of persons for bond purchases, notably in the west and northwest, which disgraced our conduct of the last war. This time there will thus be presidential sanction for these acts, which in certain sections of the country led not only to actual torture but occasionally even to murder, to horse-whipping, tarring and feathering. I know of a man who had actually fought at Gettysburg and until Appomattox who was the victim of such violence. If the President realizes the effect on the mob emotions of the thoughtless which his statement may have he was guilty of what comes perilously close to being incitement to violence. If he did not realize it, the more's the pity.

'The More It Is the Same'

To list all the other parallels would take a great deal more space than I have at my disposal. There is the same amazing assurance that we shall win the war if we enter it. There is the same raising of every kind of fear of the enemy and his power, and the same taking counsel of those fears. There is the same mad arming as in 1916-17, and I fear the same welter of inefficiency. There is the same lack of definite objectives, the same ignorance of

what England plans to do if it wins the war, of what kind of world it will seek to create if it triumphs in the struggle. There is the same readiness to go in without, so far as can be seen, any effort toward a clear understanding of how the war is to be jointly conducted. I think that before long we shall have a sensational dismissal of German consuls to parallel the dismissal of the Austrian ambassador, the German military and naval attachés, and finally Bernstorff himself in 1916-17.

All of this duplication of patterns for war brings up a fundamental question, that of minority rule. Again the masses of the plain people are unable to make their wishes felt. They cannot organize suddenly, or raise large funds, or become vocal, or win support by the bulk of the conservative press. Anyone who, like myself, has spoken to audiences on the side of calmness, a rational view of events, a clear understanding of what war will mean to us, will agree with me that inevitably someone in the audience asks in deeply troubled tones, "Well, what *can* we do about it since there is no referendum upon war?" One feels hopelessly ineffectual when one lists once more the few ways of making public opinion felt—letters to the President, senators, congressmen and the newspapers; mass meetings, the forwarding of resolutions, talks on the radio (when there is no money available for such talks) —that is all that one can say.

I have long wondered whether this is not the fundamental weakness of democracy, this inability of the masses to do what rich, powerful pressure groups can achieve. The dissenting peace-lovers or anti-conscriptionists or opponents of large armaments simply cannot make their wishes known and controlling even where they are in the vast majority. Here is a rock upon which the ship of state may be foundering and democracy being riven asunder. Here is something to my mind far more ominous than the presence among us of spies and agents of dictators and fifth columnists generally. For we can deal with the latter if we wish; there is no immediate remedy for that lack of majority rule which theoretically is supreme in the United States.

Back of the Moral Crisis

By Angus H. MacLean

MANY are attempting to penetrate the hinterland of the moral crisis to determine the genesis and to plot the course of the spiritual hurricane that has swept over the world. The results are not too encouraging. It seems that one might as well try, with George MacDonald's pathetic little hero, to get back of the north wind. If one gets there he does so alone and there is no one to verify his claim. Yet the crisis is here, and too few rather than too many are seriously aware of it. Our failure to understand it is in danger of leading us to ignore the fact that the crisis *is* serious, and not just a continued manifestation of man's propensity to note the decadence of morals and bemoan the passing of the good old days.

Hitler's judgment of all who live outside the Reich, and of Americans in particular, as corrupt is echoed among us; and not by Hitler's friends alone, but also by those who consider his new order the greatest threat yet faced by our civilization. Distinguished citizens fear that we are soft and spineless, and that we would in our present state go down before a blitzkrieg like a house of cards. We, as Dorothy Thompson says, "smell of appeasement," which means that we are incapable of sensing a moral crisis and that we have no commonly held values for which we would gladly die. Industrial and political groups batter one another with suspicions and charges of criminal disregard for the national weal if not of downright disloyalty. Widespread popular suspicion of the other fellow's motives is strong enough to give overwhelming support to Mr. Dies and his commission. These suspicions cannot be groundless.

The youth phase of the problem has received special attention. A number of articles have appeared during the last six months, sometimes backed by questionnaire studies, that present a pretty black picture. A widespread moral and spiritual degeneracy is definitely indicated. American youth has been given a microscopic going over by men of letters and academicians alike and found to be neither vertebrate nor crustacean but a species of spineless jellyfish that can offer no resistance to a beast of prey. Petty, soft, irresponsible, scornful, debunking, amoral and irreligious, our youth stands in the gateways of our defenses, a pushover for any positivistic aggression.

Mr. Paul P. Cram, whose contribution appears in the October *Atlantic,* seems to imply that only those who want to join a crusade against Hitler have any moral status at all. This impression, which one can scarcely avoid getting from some of his illustrations, unfortunately detracts from a good deal of sound data which he presents. He leaves the reader with a strong impression of youth's unconcern, suspicion and do-nothing address to the sorest problems of society.

The situation presented by Prof. Mortimer Adler in the October *Harpers* is undeniable and undodgeable, even when one disagrees with the author on the theory of its root causes. Mr. Adler is not speaking alone. He is backed, apparently, in both study and sentiment by Mr. Hutchins, the president of the institution he serves. To put the matter shortly our youth, according to Adler, have repudiated the very idea of moral or spiritual truth. What is not objectively verifiable in the narrow scientific sense is not truth at all. Truth to them fits into a neat formula trailed by a Q.E.D., is measured by a ruler or its statistical equivalent, and is at least, if it happens to be born in a chemical lab., capable of stirring up an olfactory reaction. A moral principle, although backed by the wisdom of the ages and sages alike, has no more validity than

the chance opinion of the simplest freshman. College youth is without faith, without moral conviction, and altogether alarmingly deficient in the experiences of value, the sentiments and loyalties upon which any society must depend in a crisis.

Post-War Cynicism

Most of the writers are in astonishing agreement in their descriptions of college youth, but they part company on the question of basic causes. Mr. MacLeish, whose comments run through many of the articles, thinks that the disillusionment of soldiers in the last war, subsequently caught up in our fiction, has poisoned young souls. Anyone who as an idealistic youth volunteered to save democracy twenty-three years ago, and has lived through the years that followed the culminating battle in the Hall of Mirrors must recognize that there is truth in his diagnosis, even if fiction is placed in altogether too strategic a position. (The expression of post-war cynicism was not confined to fiction.) A generation of young men who gave their devotion to a cause which turned out to be counterfeit can scarcely have avoided influencing their children. Out of the war came a virile resistance to propaganda which may also have amounted to resistance to indispensable truth. Many a philosophical and literary splash of bath-water thrown out in the last twenty years has had a baby in it. The post-war adult generation was grossly overconditioned in both its pacifist and legionnaire wings. This indeed is not *the* cause but may very well be a link in several chains of causation.

Mr. Adler, who belittles MacLeish's theory, finds the devil in the college chair and in the college laboratory, wielding a deadly little formula for the differentiation of truth from error. The objection is not to science, but to the misuse of science which he calls "scientism." There can be little doubt of the truth in Adler's description of the functioning of the scientismic mind, and of the manner in which ethics, morals and religion turn to dust before it. Anything that cannot be captured in a test tube, caught under a scalpel or cornered in an equation is at once scientismically relegated to the intellectual rubbish heap.

Adler's Oversimplification

Adler's story can be elaborated and richly supplemented by close observers of college life anywhere in the country. Attention might have been called, for instance, to the typical academic vocabulary. The campus loves terms such as efficiency, scientific, objectivity, frame of reference, and ideology—all ethically sterile words. No one suggests that there is no need for non-value terms. What makes the college lingo pertinent to this discussion is the prevailing absence of value terms. Words like ethics, right, wrong, justice, brotherhood, conscience or ideal, and the like, as intellectual currency have suffered an inflation paralleling that of the German mark in the days when a wheelbarrow full of them would scarcely buy a newspaper. One could add a great deal more in the way of "amen" to Professor Adler's statement. One may venture, however, to suggest that the problem has many more ramifications and is more deeply rooted than his conclusions imply. There are numerous links and loops in the fatal chain.

If the Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association, the Communist party or even a ministerial association were subjected to careful scrutiny we would find plenty of convictions, strong attitudes and even overreadiness to fight. But we would find no more evidence of a common sense of value that primarily commands everyone's allegiance than Mr. Adler found on the campus. If youth is amoral to a dangerous degree, adults are full of fanatical faiths that war in the members of the body politic, and are no less threatening to the social structure. In a society in which faiths are in conflict to the extent of complete mutual exclusion one would expect a stalemate in an institution like the university that has to cater to all interests and cannot, for economic reasons alone, be partisan. Moreover, one would expect and does find the moral slump among youth who never went to college but were thrown on their own resources without benefit of employment. Irresponsibility, lack of pride in workmanship, the tendency to give as little and take as much as one can, are criticisms laid at the doors of youth in general, and indeed of labor in general.

Social Structure at Fault

The cause of this situation is not likely to be found in any one group or institution, or in any unfortunate habit of mind that developed among us unnoticed. It is more likely to be found closely woven into the fabric of our social structure.

A clue that may lead to a partial understanding of the problem can be picked up by paying a little attention to the thought patterns and convictions of the adult world. As a distinguished educator said years ago, "What ails our youth is what ails their parents." The most notable characteristic of the networks of adult thought and value is that they are organized about and take their color from the vocational associations of men. When a young man takes a job he is not choosing a mere means of livelihood, but is taking unto himself a way of life—a philosophy, a set of inclusive values together with their specific definition on the level of social action.

Rotarians present the same intellectual and emotional patterns in Los Angeles that they do in upstate New York. The Manufacturers' Association and the Bar Association present such a nicely articulated set of values that the behavior of these groups in any given crisis can be closely anticipated. While a Presbyterian in Ohio and another in New Jersey may be as unlike each other as are Tarzan and Little Bo Peep, manufacturers from the same quarters are more than likely to be as kindred in spirit as two sardines from the same can. Should a young man find his way into the private utilities and see some promise of a career in this field he begins to take on the spiritual coloring of the machine he serves, and in a few years his reactions to social problems involving taxes or state interference in business, or to a sermon, are typical of his associates.

Insurance and investment companies with their nicely calculated risks determine attitudes and active commitments on such vital questions as the race problem, labor

disputes and war. Laborers are also caught up in the industrial value network as dupes and camp followers or they associate themselves with other wage earners through the C.I.O. and thus get themselves a faith. The Medical Association presents us with a relatively lofty ethics, but lofty because of the nature of the profession, and not because of the recognition of the sovereignty of the moral law or the inherent right of man to health, not to mention life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. When the limits of this ethics are reached, as in the face of a need for cooperative community medicine, the association becomes as rigid and unyielding as any other.

One's Job Makes One's Philosophy

A job in America, then, carries with it a factional ethics that plays no second fiddle to any other set of convictions. What does this mean if it does not mean that we have gone a long way toward losing our common life, and the very organized basis of that common life? For this loss or threatened loss unrestricted private enterprise might very well stand accused or at least earn a place in the rogue's gallery. Private enterprise, factional as it is and insatiable in its demands upon the souls of men, is the sovereign background of most participation in public affairs, and the chief obstacle to common enterprises based upon the needs of all men.

So true is this job-genesis of our values that a preacher, a teacher or a candidate for public office finds himself addressing, not Americans or men and women with common aspirations, but lawyers, political bosses, union members, organized farmers, real estate magnates, bankers and stockholders of this or that ilk. When Americans go to church, to the public forum or to a public hearing on some civic problem, they leave their hearts at home with their treasures, and return to them unchanged. Is it any wonder that a universal ethics, even when thoughtfully and courageously spoken, falls upon deaf ears; or if listened to, is found threatening and assumed to be also partisan?

When Youth Loses Its Soul

The situation referred to here is in all probability a major cause of the impasse at which efforts at character education have arrived today. Even when teachers beat their way against the prevailing tides and succeed in inculcating attitudes and motives in the interest of the common weal, the young candidate for civic virtue is met at the threshold of life by vocational interests, each with a full-blown special interest philosophy, from which he must choose his way of life. There are heroes who survive it all even in our day, but is there any wonder that what the youth has learned weakens or survives, if at all, as a pathetic, hopeless and unrealizable dream? Youth is aware of this situation. A few become preachers or go into social service; a few become communists or nazis; the rest give our pretense at interest in man as such the well deserved raspberry, and perhaps they pay for the act with their souls.

Much interest in the common needs of men still exists even if it is unorganized, disembodied and ineffectually expressed. Its existence testifies less to the rightness of our social system than to the inherent decency of man. Here and there it finds some place in the social structure. The developments in public welfare legislation and organization have done much to awaken the public to some sense of common responsibility and a common task. In recent years governmental and people's enterprises, although regarded with extreme suspicion and often attacked, have brought us some social embodiment of common interests. Cooperatives have contributed much to our common life and promise much more. Here and there where our economic system has broken down we have seen citizens coming together and creating a common life out of little or nothing. The governmental "interference" which assures us that our natural resources will not in the future be subjected to neglect or vandalism also gives flesh and blood to our consciousness of kinship with our fellows. The conservation program may not look like something to laud in the face of such a problem as is under discussion, but it suggests the possibility of the return of values that can be commonly held and commonly promoted.

There are straws in the wind that give us hope for a new order which promotes rather than throttles the ethical capacities of men. There is, however, a most urgent need for insights into the effect our adopted methods of group life have upon the hearts and spirits of men, and particularly the fatal effect upon our youth of the legacy of a divided house we have left them. This crisis will not, cannot pass until we do more as a people than to agree to disagree, until the common life and the common enterprise take precedence over private, corporational or professional interests. France recognized too late the nature of the disease that destroyed her. England is today keenly aware of sweeping changes in the interests of common life that are imperative. Her newly found faith may also be a deathbed confession. Let us hope that America's awakening will not come with the rite of extreme unction.

Bitter Question

HOW sound are ye sleeping, comrades,
So deeply that air raids pass
Like shadows on silver mirrors,
Like breathing on polished glass?

How deep are ye dreaming, comrades,
So raptly that raiders go
From France to the spires of London
And none of you ever know?

Ah lads, I have named you over,
Remembering how ye died,
So wearily full of slumber—
Mute pawns of a nation's pride!

How sound are ye sleeping, comrades,
Too deeply to ever ken
The bells of the world are ringing
For anguish and war again?

ARTHUR R. MACDOUGALL, JR.

BOOKS

The Spirit-Wrestlers

SLAVA BOHU, THE STORY OF THE DUKHOBORS. *By J. F. C. Wright. Farrar & Rinehart, $3.50.*

NOT INTERESTED in the Dukhobors? Perhaps never heard of them, or only as a sect of Russian fanatics in Canada who fight off the census-takers, burn schoolhouses and occasionally go in for nudism in (of all places!) Saskatchewan? But wait. There is more to it than that. The record of this strange group includes such material as this: a seventeenth century defection from the Russian Orthodox Church in search of pure, simple, non-institutional "primitive Christianity"; a community that carried the principle of nonviolent resistance to government to its ultimate extreme, out-Tolstoyed Tolstoy, out-Gandhied Gandhi, and practiced disarmament to the point of destroying all their weapons when they knew they were about to be attacked; a company anarchistic in principle, a quasi-hereditary theocracy in fact, with a leader whose followers believed him to be Christ yet publicly repudiated his authority, meanwhile obeying him implicitly and supporting him in luxury and vice while they lived in poverty and rectitude. That should be interesting. It is.

The Dukhobors got their start about 1660 as one of the many sects that were the splinters of the great schism precipitated by the "reforms" of the Archbishop Nikon—of which one, it will be remembered, was the making of the sign of the cross with three fingers instead of two, and another was the reduction of the two hallelujahs in the service to one. The Dukhobors went much farther than the Old Believers in their resistance to these innovations; they were "spirit-wrestlers" who dissented from the whole ecclesiastical establishment, from all religious forms and priestly pretensions, and from the very idea of a church. Being religious individualists to the last degree, they had to band themselves together into a closely knit community to preserve their separateness! Their early history is obscure and largely traditional, but they turned up near Odessa where, by permission of Alexander I, they established a prosperous community which, under a rather surprising *modus vivendi,* got along pretty well with the tsarist government for a long time. Then they were moved over into Caucasia and the times of persecution came.

One thing led to another until migration became the only alternative to extinction. Their leader, Peter Verigin, had already been in Siberia for years. Tolstoy gave them favorable publicity, declaring them the only genuine Christians in the world. English liberals, who by this time hated the tsar and admired Tolstoy, helped with the colonization plans and in 1899 nearly ten thousand Dukhobors, including some who had first tried Crete, were shipped to Canada. Peter Verigin came later.

The Canadian government was amazingly generous to them. They had the industry and hardiness requisite to good colonists under austere conditions, but they were a hard people to help because, whatever their extremity, they laid down the conditions. The big trouble came when the government insisted that they sign up individually for the 160-acre homesteads that had been given to them for ten dollars apiece—with three years to pay. Most of them would not sign, because they did not believe in private property. Moreover, in signing they would have to declare their loyalty to government and king, and they admitted no loyalty except to the Kingdom of God. So began their "persecution," which consisted in the government's not allowing them to keep the land they refused to sign for—though it did allow them to keep ten acres apiece.

Divisions arose among them and the story becomes complicated. Some accepted the government's terms; the others called them "bad Dukhobors." Some zealots decided that the use of animals or animal products was a sin against the four-footed brothers. That made plowing impossible and barred shoes. A fanaticism arose within a fanaticism when bands of hundreds set forth, barefooted and empty-handed, as harmless and helpless as a children's crusade, to seek a sunny promised land where they could live on the natural fruits of the earth. It is a long way from Canada to any such place, but distance meant nothing to these pilgrims who had already come from the Caucasus. Peter bought land in British Columbia and established a colony which flourished under his wise direction, though he continued to wrangle with the government and to make it hard for those who tried to help, including a group of Philadelphia Quakers who were their best American friends. After his violent death, young Peter came over from Russia and bad matters got worse.

But the story should be read. It is the perfect illustration of the decadence of a group which tried to be perfect in a sinful world, wanted to be in the world but not of it, could not make terms even with a government which was willing to do everything short of abdicating its functions in order to help them—a group which, with many virtues, had no sense. Sometimes they seemed "fools of God"; sometimes just plain fools. Mr. Wright has done a remarkable piece of research. He has left his work undocumented and has therefore not provided the means by which his statements can be checked. But taken at its face value it is an absorbingly interesting and wholly convincing narrative. Incidentally, in the title, *Slava Bohu,* which means "God be praised," I think he slipped from Russian into Ukrainian for no good reason. The Russian form would be *Slava Bogu.*

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

HOW TO FIND HEALTH THROUGH PRAYER. *By Glenn Clark. Harper & Brothers, $1.50.*

All readers of this paper know Glenn Clark's faith in the power of prayer to accomplish very definite and concrete results. In this volume he considers the healing of disease. He does not repudiate medicine, and he strongly urges such physical aids to health as exercise and deep breathing. These correspond to the first four of Naaman's washings in the Jordan. The other three—upon which his recovery at last depended, and which are the healing forces to which the author devotes most of his discussion—are the cleansing of the emotions, the mind and the soul. The skeptic will find himself unconvinced by many of Mr. Clark's unsupported assertions about the exact mental causes and cures for specific diseases: "The chief cause of arteriosclerosis is the living of old thoughts over and over again. The best preventive and cure is the inflow of new thoughts." "For rheumatism, dig down and see if you can find any trace of cynicism, skepticism or criticism." "One chief cause of arthritis is our attempt to pack too heavy a program into too small a space. . . . The best cure is to forgive all, relinquish all, and surrender all." "The common cold might well be called

an outward manifestation of the common selfishness to which we are all subject. The best protection against contracting the common cold is to forget oneself as completely as one can, to think lovingly of others, to read good spiritual literature and to surrender oneself as completely as one can to God." So a good deal more than conventional prayer is involved in "finding health through prayer." Prayer is the culmination of a process of hygienic, mental and spiritual exercises—a reconditioning of the whole man from the inside out.

TERROR IN OUR TIME, THE SECRET SURPRISE ATTACK. *By Richard Wilmer Rowan. Longmans, $3.00.*

Reading this record of the intricate strands of espionage and counterespionage, of spying, plotting and sudden death, that gave an invisible continuity to the two world wars, one is impressed that diplomacy, like an iceberg, is more than half hidden from view. Mr. Rowan is considered a leading expert on secret service, especially in its more sinister activities. He has previously written five books in this field. In the present volume he traces the patterns on the seamy side of the diplomatic tapestry during the past twenty years. No guilty nation escapes his scrutiny—and all the European nations are guilty, and Japan no less. The outcome is, first, an explanation of how and why some things happened as they did in Germany, Spain, Palestine, France, Czechoslovakia and, in fact, wherever terror has worked in darkness or fifth columnists have plied their tricky trade by day. But second, it is a warning of the subtle and secret attacks that are even now being made upon America from within. Not many details on this point are given; not so many, for example, as Mr. Dies gives in his *Trojan Horse*. But Mr. Rowan, though his material is sensational and disturbing enough, writes from a more detached standpoint.

Books Received

The Bible Speaks to Our Generation. By Frank Glenn Lankard. Oxford University Press, $2.00. Books which give encouragement and guidance for the reading of the Bible are always welcome. This is one of the best. Its appeal is to adults of mature mind, and it is especially adapted to those having no very close acquaintance with the Bible. It gives the essential information about the nature and origin of the book, and suggests readings and topics for discussion, but the heart of it is its intelligent presentation of the resources which the Bible offers to meet the personal and social needs of our time.

The ABC's of the I.D.R. By Paul Brown. Macmillan, 50 cents. Twenty years ago everyone knew that "I.D.R." meant Infantry Drill Regulations. Perhaps everyone will soon know it again. This little book is an unofficial commentary upon and an explanation of the official manual of close order drill. There have been many changes both in infantry formations and in the manual of arms. After all that has been said about the passing of the old methods, it is a bit surprising to find so much emphasis laid upon perfection in close order drill, the chief point being that "the man who aspires to a commission" will find this "a fine springboard from which to take off." From the outside it does seem that there ought to be better avenues for advancement to command than a perfect mastery of "Squads, right."

Citizens Without Work, A Study of the Effects of Unemployment upon the Workers' Social Relations and Practices. By E. Wight Bakke. Yale University Press, $3.00. If something like ten million citizens are likely to be unemployed for a long time, except as war industries provide temporary jobs, it is important to know what unemployment does to them. Mr. Bakke's study, made under the Institute of Human Relations, presents an accumulation of organized data, case studies and conclusions concerning the unemployed worker's relation to community and family and the effect of relief on self-reliance.

The Unemployed Worker, A Study of the Task of Making a Living without a Job. By E. Wight Bakke. Yale University Press, $4.00. This is a companion volume to the preceding. Under two main headings, "The World of Labor" and "The World of Unemployed Labor," it considers first the motives, risks and resources of workers who work, and then the experiences and reactions of those who are without work. The two volumes probe very deep into the human problems growing out of unemployment.

Economic Education. Edited by Harold F. Clark. Eleventh Yearbook. National Council for Social Studies, Washington, D. C., $2.00. Fourteen educators and economists contribute to this symposium on the content and methods of teaching in economics in elementary and secondary schools and junior colleges.

Christ Jesus, The Authentic Story of the Founder of Christianity as told by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Translated from the original Greek by John A. Dakes. Avalon Pub. Co., 8101 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago. The chief distinction of this version of the Gospels is that the translator's native tongue is Greek. Without being a professional scholar, he has made a careful study of the text, but in choosing among diverse readings in the manuscripts he professes no other principle of selection than that of using "those which seemed to me to be the original ones." The English style is made to conform as closely as possible to that of the King James Version.

The Necessity of the Church. By W. E. Orchard. Longmans, $1.75. While still a Congregationalist, Dr. Orchard wrote a book on *The Necessity of Christ*. His changed emphasis as a Roman Catholic is indicated by the title of the present volume in which he argues for the necessity not merely of *a* church but of *the* church. Dr. Orchard's spirit, as ever, is admirable, and his style is ingratiating, but his argument is not persuasive. He has forgotten, if he ever knew, the Protestant's reasons for not believing that God ever gave infallibility to a man or a company of men and commissioned them to enforce their authority by temporal means whenever circumstances permit.

Splendor Ahead. By Grace Noll Crowell. Harpers, $1.00. These poems of faith, hope and beauty strike a welcome note in a time when many can see only confusion around and gloom ahead. Mrs. Crowell's poems have appeared in many religious and other publications. Besides being officially poet laureate of Texas, she is an authentic national poet of distinction. This is her eleventh volume.

Gore Lot. By Flora Cecile Allison. Banner Press, $1.50. Minor poetry perhaps, but mostly in a major key and all of it delicate, gracious and thoughtful.

Consume! By Dallas D. Johnson. Dynamic America Press, 381 Fourth Ave., New York, $2.00. Mr. Johnson, who died nearly a year ago, was one of the leaders of the social credit movement. He accepts description as a "monetary radical," but he was a trained economist and an experienced investment counselor. His thesis is that production, consumption and prosperity are all blocked by the bottleneck of an inadequate supply of money, and that a radical change of the whole system is required in order to "give capitalism a chance."

Freiheit und Notwendigkeit. By Rudolf Otto. J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, Germany, RM.1.50. A posthumous paper in the form of a discussion with Nicolai Hartmann concerning the relations of reason and faith, of freedom and necessity, of human responsibility and divine sovereignty. As might be expected, the "idea of the Holy" is the ruling concept. A postscript of equal length by Th. Siegfried integrates this final essay with Otto's total work.

Credit Unions, The People's Banks. By Maxwell S. Stewart. Public Affairs Pamphlets, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, 30 cents.

Personality and the Protestant Tradition. Southworth Lecture. By Amos N. Wilder. Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass.

The Religion of Solidarity. By Edward Bellamy. Antioch Bookplate Co., Yellow Springs, Ohio. This hitherto unpublished fragment states the essence of Bellamy's philosophy, a sense of the individual's dependence upon, and ultimate absorption into, the universal. This, he held, was in no way inconsistent with belief in a personal God. This fragment, and the introductory essay

by Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, will whet the reader's interest in the forthcoming biography of Bellamy by Dr. Morgan.

The Middle Class and Organized Labor. By Robert Morss Lovett. League for Industrial Democracy, 10 cents.

It Must Be Done Again. By Vernon Nash. Federal Union, 10 E. 40th St., New York, 15 cents. Data concerning the formation of the American union cited to point the way to world union now.

Easy Worship Services. By various authors. Willis N. Bugbee Co., Syracuse, N. Y., 35 cents. Including simple plays and pageants for the church school, etc.

How to Start a Life Insurance Program. Institute for Risk Analysis, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass., 50 cents.

Children in Exile. By Geraldine Penderson-Krag. Child Welfare League, 130 E. 22nd St., New York, 25 cents.

CORRESPONDENCE

Too Far West

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your editorial headline, "The President's War," makes about as unjust an accusation as a paper could make. You probably live too far from the eastern coast of America to discover the real nature of the calamity of Hitlerism that is now menacing civilization. This may in part excuse your headline.

First Methodist Church, CHARLES A. DANN.
Brewster, N. Y.

No Peace Wanted in Texas

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: My customary attitude in reading an editorial or article is to see wherein I may agree. It is seldom that I have read anything from as responsible a source as The Christian Century in which I have found as little to approve as "The President's War." It is an almost complete misstatement of the situation. To give one instance, you find it "safe to assert" that the overwhelming desire of our people has been for a negotiated peace. What you mean by "safe" I do not know. Not one person in ten in this part of the country wants a negotiated peace, in my observation.

Georgetown, Texas. JOHN C. GRANBERY.

We Fear You're Right

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: As to Mr. Roosevelt's "Lost Opportunity," I can have nothing but praise for the fact that our President has too much common sense, not to speak of his fine diplomatic sense, even to consider asking Mr. Churchill to tell his own countrymen and the world "What is Great Britain fighting for?" Your editorial writer says, "Surely there would have been nothing unfriendly, or unbusinesslike, or injudicious in such a question," that is, "if the United States is expected to finance further prosecution of the war." Well, my judgment tells me, and perhaps many of your readers may agree, that such a question at this time would certainly be unfriendly, unbusinesslike and injudicious.

Make no mistake about it, neither the Congress nor the President of the United States will give any consideration to your editorial writer's argument that Mr. Churchill shall be asked "What is Great Britain fighting for?"

Lancaster, Pa. WILLIAM H. HAGER.

In Support of the President

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: To my mind your editorial, "The President's War," is replete with conclusions which are not warranted by all the facts in the case. Your contention that the President's latest fireside talk differs substantially from his pre-election speeches, is considerably overdrawn. For myself, I see no essentially different note. Before election he urged all possible aid to Britain, and he does so now. Before election he promised, to quote your own words, "with solemn pledges that he was for peace and would not take this country into war," and he makes the same promise now. If we are in the war now, as you assert, we were in the war before the election.

I wonder, too, if yours is sound reasoning with respect to a negotiated peace as so greatly desired at this time. Personally, I do not see how under heaven democracy can exist in the same world with the sort of dictatorship which has overrun Europe and threatens this hemisphere as well. To crush Hitlerism would seem to be a rather large "war aim" in itself.

You speak of the "weird fantasies of German invasion of this country." Why be so blind to the situation? Why not try to reason realistically? No doubt the nations throughout Europe now dominated by the nazi regime thought invasion a "weird fantasy" a few years back. The President's reasoning that aid to Britain now will make more certain our staying out of the war later on, is more logical, it seems to me, than your contrary assumption.

Olivet Presbyterian Church, HAROLD G. GAUNT.
Atlantic City, N. J.

Later Than We Think

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Although a Catholic (and, incidentally, a convert from Protestantism) I read The Christian Century regularly with interest. I was amused at your tantrum over the Taylor appointment, pleased when you announced for Wendell Willkie, and am now thoroughly gratified by the editorial, "The President's War," in the issue of January 8.

However, I am a bit dubious as to the mental capacity of anyone who, on hearing the latest fireside chat, was surprised or disappointed that the vein of Mr. Roosevelt's remarks differed somewhat from his pre-election statements. After eight years of promising one thing and doing the opposite, it is beyond me how any normal mind could have been deceived by his campaign palaver. One needed only to recall his 1932 cry for economy, his 1936 promise of a balanced budget the following year. Indeed, Mr. Roosevelt's post-election actions are always at such variance with his pre-election promises that the only time he is consistent is when he is being inconsistent.

As for his message to Congress, to me the most meaningful part of the entire address was the words in which he threatened that the sovereignty of the state would be used against those who did not agree with his viewpoint of 100 per cent aid to England, despite the fact that this is merely a preliminary to the sending of troops. It appears that the great humanitarian is warning free American citizens such as myself who may happen to be at odds with some portion of his foreign policy that we may as well prepare for a stay in a concentration camp. Truly, it is later than we think!

Tahlequah, Okla. EUGENE SNOW.

Changing Morals

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have just read in your paper that the building board of the Community Church of Kansas City has announced it finds no objection to accepting money raised by a proposed prize fight in which Joe Louis will participate. I am not saying anything against the plan. If the church wants to employ the prize fighting fraternity, it can hardly find a "whiter" member than Joe Louis. But the point I want to raise is in regard to the futility of any longer trying to accept the church as a teacher of morals. When absolutely contradictory things are taught at different times, surely all cannot be right—unless times have changed immensely.

I was reared in the church—my father was a Baptist minister—and was definitely taught that certain things are eternally wrong. Among these are war, prize fighting, gambling, the use of tobacco, the drinking of liquor, theatergoing, dancing and card playing. I'll admit that since I have been "on my own" I have indulged in just half of these sins. I know of many good people who are greater violators than I am, yet without disapproval of their churches.

As one example of church changeableness there is its attitude toward war. In the fall of 1939, *Preachers Present Arms* seemed to be generally approved by the ministers. But is it now? By another year this book may be honored by public burnings, with the clergy officiating. I am not a radical pacifist. I soldiered in France for a year in the earlier war. But I consider war a horrible institution, and not one that rapidly becomes right or wrong just as fast as we get into it or out of it.

For myself, I am about ready to repudiate the church entirely as a teacher of morals. I believe I can find more satisfactory solutions in science, philosophy and personal contacts with God.

Eugene, Ore. J. HUGH PRUETT.

Is Prohibition Needed?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It is of course proper to remind the religious and civic agencies in the various army camp towns of their obligation to be awake to their moral responsibilities. However, this mobilization creates an appalling situation. For example, Raymond Moley in *Newsweek* cites the problem of San Luis Obispo, California. It has a population of 8,276. Three miles from it and more than twenty-five miles from any other city as large there will be assembled a camp of 150,000 men! Moley is speaking mainly of the serious problem of local government, but he says: "The problems of housing, policing and the like that confront the city are almost staggering in their complexity."

In creating such situations the military agencies draw upon the financial resources of the whole nation, supported by the federal law. Is any near-by "town" equal to the problem? Specific religious organizations, such as the Y.M.C.A. and others that functioned during the First World War, are ruled out of the camps. Meanwhile, nation, state and county legalize the sale of liquor all up and down the land. So what is to be done unless, as a first step, prohibition is to be again invoked?

Archer, Neb. E. H. TIPTON.

His War Aims

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Since we are already two-thirds in the war (economically and diplomatically) and heading rapidly toward full participation, let us start asking what our war aims shall be. We have been insisting on knowing the war aims of England and Germany. The best way to discover their true war aims will be to state our own and watch the reaction to them.

To get a clear statement of the issue before the public, I am proposing the following conditions under which America should enter the present conflict with all her resources:

1. An immediate return of all armies to their pre-war national boundaries.

2. Full independence of all formerly independent countries.

3. An international commission appointed to work out the problem of boundary revision and minorities.

4. That all colonial possessions, not immediately admitted to statehood or dominion status, be placed in the hands of an international commission to administer, giving all nations equal access to the trade of these colonies and with powers to grant them independence if and when they become capable of self-government.

5. A greatly strengthened league or federation of nations with power to determine and enforce national boundaries and laws governing world commerce. (The commissions aforementioned would be absorbed by such a league or federation when it became effective.)

6. A definite limit set on national armaments and these subject to the call of the league or federation at any time necessary to preserve the independence of an affiliated state.

Summerfield, Ohio. G. L. ROBERTS.

Mr. Vories Explains

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In two recent issues of your valued publication there have appeared references to my becoming a Japanese subject. In both instances unfortunate misstatements are made. In order to prevent further misunderstandings I should like to correct these misstatements.

First, it is absolutely untrue that I applied for naturalization *"in order to stay in Japan."* There was no need for such action. I had not been ordered or advised to leave Japan. Neither does the present tendency to request the withdrawal of aliens in the pay of foreign organizations apply to myself, since I have never been on salary from any source outside of Japan.

Second, both these items in your pages declare that I made reports to "family spirits" in a "Shinto shrine." This statement also is so inaccurate and misleading as to be as damaging as deliberate falsehood. Here are the facts. It was thought by a number of us that the formal statement of my purposes in applying for naturalization should be made at a place possessing national, rather than local, significance. This small town, Omi-Hachiman, contains only one such spot, the Hachiman shrine, a national monument. (One might compare it to Mt. Vernon or Arlington cemetery or the Lincoln Memorial in American national sentiments.) It is officially separated from religion. And the family of my wife, whose name I have applied for, has no connection whatever with this "shrine."

My reasons for seeking naturalization were as follows:

1. In my youth I used to criticize Europeans who lived in the United States for many years without intention of returning to their native lands, yet failed to apply for naturalization. It came to me, a few years ago, that I was myself doing what I had condemned in others.

2. My entire working life has been spent in Japan. The organization to which I belong is incorporated in Japan and all its activities are in the Orient. There is no material reason for my maintaining citizenship abroad.

3. More than a year ago, it occurred to me as a decisive challenge that Jesus Christ could not have made the most of his mission to earth had he not become "naturalized" as a true human being, becoming fully identified with the people to whom he was sent.

4. My sentiments toward my native land and toward my land of adoption have undergone development during these thirty-six years. It is less a case of losing love for the one because of an equal, or greater, love for the other, than a parallel to what happens in marriage. One of the contracting parties (in Japan it is not uncommonly the groom instead of the bride) is adopted into the family of the other, taking that family's name. That is *not* because he, or she, has ceased to love his old home. There is some mighty urge behind such a change, which it would be hard to put into words.

There has grown up within me a deep and permanent love for Japan, and for its ruler, and for its people. If, after the red tape is all unwound, the authorities grant my request, I shall become a Japanese, voluntarily and with enthusiasm and, I hope, as a Christian under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The Omi Brotherhood, WILLIAM MERRELL VORIES.
Omi-Hachiman, Japan.

A 'Third Order' of Quakers

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Albert W. Palmer in your issue of January 8 says: "If the Quakers had a third order, like the Franciscans, I would join it." He should communicate with Leslie Schafer, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa., who is secretary of the Wider Quaker Fellowship, which he might join and still be a Congregationalist.

Media, Pa. EDWARD B. RAWSON.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

'Plan for Peace,' Says H. G. Wells

Suggests War Be Paralleled by Debate —Ministers Hear Oxnam—Mission Assemblies Attract Thousands

(Correspondence from Florida)

TAMPA, Jan. 8.—H. G. Wells, British author who recently lectured at Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla., urged a full and open discussion of the form of world organization that should come after the present war. "Concurrently with this war we need a great debate," Wells said. "None of us are clear as yet upon some of the most vital questions before us. They need discussion. We should tell what our ideas and feelings are, not only to our fellow citizens, allies and neutrals, but above all to people who are in arms against us." Mr. Wells declared that the reconstruction of the world in the interest of a world community of nations is more important than waging the war. He said there were fruitless and scattered expressions of constructive ideas, but no sustained interchange of ideas that would lead to drawing nations together on an adequate program. Mr. Wells did not make clear how such discussion was to be had in countries sealed tight by censorship in the interest of the present military efforts.

* * *

Co-op Educational Service Starts

The Southeastern Cooperative Education Association with headquarters at Carrollton, Ga., has just been organized, with Edward Yeomans, Jr., as secretary. The object of the association is to encourage study groups in the southeastern states in cooperative methods. They are working in relation with the Cooperative League of America. The association is encouraged by the response of rural ministers and church groups in Georgia. A series of conferences on the work of cooperatives has been arranged. The first was held in Atlanta last November.

* * *

Oxnam Addresses Florida Ministers

Southern College, Lakeland, Fla., held its annual Florida ministers' week, Jan. 5-9, with the general theme of discussion "Christianity in a Changing World." Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of the Boston area of the Methodist Church, opened the conferences with a discussion of "The Ethical Ideals of Jesus in a Changing World." Lectures were delivered by Shirley J. Case, formerly of the University of Chicago and now dean of the school of religion at Southern College. About 300 ministers representing all the major denominations attended.

* * *

Thousands Crowd Meetings Of Mission Assemblies

Thousands assemble in the crowded tourist centers of this state for the annual chain of missionary assemblies, which opens in Jacksonville Jan. 20-22 and makes a circuit of the state, closing in Quincy Feb. 25. Miss B. Louise Woodford, state director of the assemblies, announces the coming of a group of distinguished missionaries and Christian leaders this year, including Chester B. Rappe, missionary of the Methodist Church in Chungking, China; Mrs. Julia Kellersburger, Presbyterian missionary in Africa, and author of several popular mission books; Samuel W. Grafflin, pioneer worker in the field of industrial relations and Y. M. C. A. youth programs; L. M. Bratcher, secretary of the mission board of the Brazilian Baptist churches; Bishop Ralph S. Cushman, of the Methodist Church; and Oscar F. Blackwelder, pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Washington, D. C.

* * *

And So Forth

Tampa Greeks joined in a special service on Jan. 7 to pray for their kinsmen in Greece. Phelphystatos Athenagoras, bishop of the Eastern Orthodox Church in North and South America, presided.

The Peace Memorial Presbyterian Church, Clearwater, Fla., popular church with hundreds of winter visitors, is observing 50 years of service this month. Ansley C. Moore is its minister.

On Jan. 5 Southern Baptists began broadcasting on a south-wide radio hookup, the broadcasts being given on Sunday afternoons at 4 o'clock. In addition to the stations on the hookup, many stations are carrying the services as transcriptions.

A council of religion has been formed at the University of Florida to promote unified programs of religious activity and draw into closer cooperation the many denominational groups represented in the student body of 3,500. A. R. Buhrman, Methodist student pastor, is chairman.

ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR.

Youth Group Asks Repeal of Draft

The Youth Anti-War Congress, in concluding its fourth annual meeting in Madison, Wis., pledged to support the repeal of the conscription act, declaring that "the maintenance and expansion of American democracy requires the repeal of conscription, and to that end we dedicate our efforts." The congress also voted to advocate democracy in training camps by stressing the right of conscripts to criticize, no racial discrimination, and better housing and health facilities. It will support religious conscientious objectors. It also condemned projects which, it said, have been approved by President Roosevelt to assemble young people in compulsory work camps. The congress urged no further aid or diplomatic action leading to American involvement in war; no change in the cash and carry act; no loans or credits to underwrite Britain's war plans; no repeal of the Johnson anti-loan act. Sponsors of the convention included nearly a score of unofficial representatives of religious or church-related organizations.

Victory Heartens British People

Italian Defeat Surprises London—J. S. Whale Lectures on Christian Doctrine —Nation Is Urged to Repent

(Correspondence from England)

KETTERING, Dec. 20.—When we used to read of northern Africa in our study of the history of the church, we little thought that what may prove a critical battle in the history of our own people would be fought there. We thought of Carthage and of Hippo, where St. Augustine lived, and of the men of the desert sweeping over the great churches of the land. But today we are thinking of the battle of the western desert. Our forces have won a remarkable victory. To tell the truth, most of us, as well as the Italian advance guard, were taken by surprise. The average observer here did not dare to think of anything more than a defense which would hold back the Italian forces for some time until we could gather larger forces and equipment. Thanks not a little to the Italian attack upon Greece, our forces have improved almost incredibly their strategic position. The story reads like that of a battle in the older wars in which movements were swift and often secret, but in which there was no room for such concerted plans as those carried out like clockwork in the western desert. This battle has cheered our people.

* * *

Abbey Hears Call To Repent

When the blitzkrieg began in East London, nobody won more gratitude and love from the people of Poplar than Father J. B. Groser. He was untiring and fearless in his care of the homeless and wounded. It was not unfitting that he should preach as he did on Dec. 8, the first Sunday in Advent, in Westminster Abbey, and that he should speak uncompromising words upon our need of repentance. His sermon, which is reported in the *Church Times*, was not in soft words. Repentance, he said, is the condition of national health. It must be full and frank, not the admission that we have made one or two mistakes. It is not sufficient to submit that we are better than the nazis; we shall not be saved by comparison. It must be an absolute repentance. All talk of reconstruction and a new order is humbug unless we fulfill certain conditions both in our national life and in international relations. It is, for example, sheer humbug if we seek a return of such sovereign rights as will make a true league of nations impossible; humbug too if we cling to ways of life which rest upon claims to privileges for ourselves which bar the way to a better social order. The whole sermon was a serious and prophetic call to the nation to repent.

The *Church Times* remarks that such a sermon a quarter of a century ago might have shaken the spiritual foundations of

Westminster Abbey. Today it merely gives particularly clear and vigorous expression to sentiments well-nigh universal among the younger generation of intelligent churchmen.

* * *

Insurance Plan Covers Some War Damage

The government insurance bill to deal with damage to property has now been published. It will be read in Parliament for the second time and then carefully considered in detail in the committee stage. There are many difficult matters of adjustment between the various people who may have an interest in one building. But broadly speaking, the bill is based upon a compulsory insurance scheme for damage to all buildings and business assets, and a voluntary insurance scheme for personal goods. The government promised to pay compensation at the end of the war so far as it could afford. That promise is now merged in the provisions of this bill. It is clear that the government cannot undertake to compensate owners for their losses in full. The part which it cannot pay is to be met by this compulsory insurance charge per annum of two shillings in the pound (or 10 per cent) upon the ratable value. The terms of the bill are fixed for the first two years of the war. The insurance for personal goods is voluntary and amounts to 30s. each year per £100 of value. Churches and chapels will not have to pay any premiums. Some however would like to see both schemes made compulsory.

* * *

Christian Doctrine Lectures Popular

In Cambridge University the faculty of theology invited J. S. Whale last autumn to deliver a series of public lectures on Christian doctrine. In the preparation for the lectures the Student Christian Movement cooperated. The largest lecture hall in Cambridge was crowded from the beginning of the series, and a loudspeaker had to be set up in a neighboring hall to enable those for whom there was no room in the hall to hear the lecturer.

This is a significant event. It shows the eagerness of thoughtful men today to listen to those who will speak to them upon the great things of the Christian faith. Nobody who ponders such things will omit to take into account the varied gifts which meet in the personality of Dr. Whale. He is at once a historian and a theologian and an able speaker. But he would be the first to say with thankfulness that there is something in the response to his lectures which is more than the desire to hear any one man; and his friends are the more thankful for they are sure that if any listeners came to hear this great preacher, they would remain to be confronted by an inescapable choice: *Quis pro Domino?*

* * *

Lothian's Death Calls Forth Great Tribute

Long before he was known to the general public, Philip Kerr was doing critical and valuable work behind the scenes. During the First World War he helped to write and edit the indispensable quarterly, the *Round Table*. Before that he had been in Africa with Lord Milner, and with John Buchan and Geoffrey Dawson, now editor of the *Times*, was one of the famed "Milner's nursery." There and in many travels he made himself the master of the facts which were central in the life of the commonwealth. But it was not alone to the dominions that he gave his splendid powers of analysis and his firm grasp of political principle. He was a true friend of India and might have played a great part in the critical days ahead.

When the Oxford meetings on church, community and state were planned he gave generously of his time. Readers of The Christian Century will recall one address which it carried from his pen in 1937. In this country I can remember no more spontaneous expressions of admiration than those paid to the dead ambassador. Those who knew his character and his splendid record have not spoken only for themselves.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Youth Program Launched For 30 Millions

Plans to extend a program of religious education to 30,000,000 young people were approved at a three-day meeting of the Planning Conference on Christian Education held recently in Pittsburgh. The 200 delegates to the conference, which was sponsored by the International Council of Religious Education, were told that efforts of the organization now reach 15,000,000 young people. The program discussed proposes extensive use of the press, the radio, motion pictures; dissemination of religious literature; and the enlistment and training of a large number of lay workers and teachers. Visual aids and progressive methods will be promoted in Sunday schools. New types of lesson courses are being planned cooperatively. A wide extension of vacation schools will buttress the work already under way in the Methodist, Northern Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian bodies. The proposal will be voted on at the annual meeting in Chicago in February of the International Council of Religious Education.

Minister and Quaker Are Sentenced in Oregon

Two draft objectors, Paul R. Ackermann, former minister of the Woodlawn Methodist Church of Portland, Ore., and Edwin A. Sanders, instructor at Pacific College (Quaker), were sentenced to a year each in a federal prison road camp at Dupont, Wash., for failing to register under the selective service act.

Minority Would Force U. S. Into War

While a minority of 10 per cent of the American people is "forcing America subtly and cleverly into the world conflict," the 90 per cent majority which favors peace is "standing by, silent and helpless," John T. McNicholas, Roman Catholic archbishop of Cincinnati, declared in his annual message. The message, which was carried to South American countries by short-wave radio, challenged this overwhelming majority, "before it is too late," to select leaders in every state who will "give in their name a most positive mandate to Congress to keep us out of war, both in Europe and in the Far East." "Capitalism in our country," said the archbishop, "is blankly moving toward war, not fully realizing that it is digging its own grave."

Chicago Planning Weekday Schools

Comprehensive Program Likely to Be Adopted—Negroes Suffer Great Discrimination—Fly for Canada

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Jan. 13.—Chicago seems likely to establish a large scale program of weekday religious education in the near future. Many obstacles have been overcome and the greatest remaining obstacle, apparently, is the not inconsiderable one of underwriting an adequate budget. For several years, in the Lake View district, a program has been in operation which will in many respects be the pattern for future development. But a still more inclusive program is envisioned. In the Lake View district 18 grade schools cooperate with the district council of religious education, and classes which enroll a total of 1,000 pupils are conducted in church buildings. It is hoped that this system may be extended throughout the city and be carried up through the high schools with elective courses in religion giving regular credit toward graduation.

* * *

High School Credit To Be Offered

Some of the specific details of the plan were proposed by William H. Johnson, superintendent of schools, at a round table discussion of religion and public education before a union ministers' meeting. The meeting was in charge of the department of religious education of the Chicago church federation, with Frank B. McKibben, professor in Northwestern University, presiding. Several representative religious and public educators participated. W. C. Bower, professor in the divinity school of the University of Chicago, set forth the necessity for an expanded program of weekday religious education which would recognize the principle of separation of church and state and yet would give religion a significant place in the educational program. He emphasized the necessity for the maintenance of educational standards in any plan that might be evolved. Dr. Johnson, when called upon to speak, indicated that he had already discussed the subject with the Catholic archbishop of Chicago and with representatives of the Jewish faith. He stated that he was prepared to recommend to the board of education the giving of regular credit toward high school graduation for elective courses in religion, provided satisfactory Protestant cooperation was secured and educational standards were maintained. The program has been approved in general by the church federation's department of religious education, which is now engaged in working out detailed plans. It is estimated that an initial budget of at least $10,000 will be required for the Protestant phase of the program.

* * *

Illinois Negroes Suffer Appalling Want

One of six public hearings to be held in different urban centers throughout the state was held Jan. 3, 4 in the Chicago city council chambers, to consider the problems

of the Negro in this city. The hearing was conducted by the Illinois state "Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population," which was appointed by the state legislature and is to make its report to the legislature in March. Appalling conditions were revealed with regard to inadequate housing and high rents, lack of health facilities and violation of civil rights. Horace R. Cayton, director of the Good Shepherd community center, who, as a research assistant at the University of Chicago, directed an extensive survey of Negro life in this city, testified that the Negro pays 25 per cent more rent for the same facilities than white persons do.

* * *

Negroes Must Pay Highest Rent

Renting of buildings for use in vice and gambling, Mr. Cayton said, is usually done by absentee landlords who, not living in the community, are not interested in its welfare. He told the commission that the overcrowding of families, several of whom must use the same facilities and quarters, is one of the important factors in both delinquency and morbidity. Of the relief load in Chicago, he testified that 46 per cent is made up of Negroes, and they provide 30 per cent of WPA employes. Yet they are not being absorbed into defense industries to the same extent as white workers. Howard Gould, employment secretary of the Chicago Urban League, testified that about 90 per cent of current defense contracts in this city have gone to firms that do not employ Negroes.

* * *

Discrimination Charged in Army Air Force

A. L. Foster, executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League, says that 300 Chicago Negro youths who have the required two years of college training and the physical qualifications for service as flying cadets in the army, but who have been unable so far to gain admission to American army training schools, are seriously considering enlistment in the Canadian air force. Another interesting development is the organization of a committee called "Conscientious Objectors Against Jim Crow." J. G. St. Clair Drake, the committee's executive secretary, is urging Negro draftees to register as conscientious objectors to army service because of plans to segregate Negro soldiers.

* * *

And So Forth

"Can God Now Communicate with Men?" was the subject of Arthur L. Kinsolving's address before the Sunday Evening Club last night. On the first Sunday of the year Bishop Henry W. Hobson spoke on "The Lie of Isolationism." Reinhold Niebuhr and Albert G. Butzer are the announced preachers for the next two weeks.

Edgewater Presbyterian Church, which on last Feb. 2 suffered a disastrous fire, has repaired the damage and on Dec. 29 dedicated its beautiful new chancel. Adolph Bohn is pastor.

Methodism's new official weekly, the *Christian Advocate,* made its bow Jan. 2 under the editorship of Roy L. Smith, with T. Otto Nall as managing editor. The initial national circulation is announced as 260,000.

The late Bishop George Craig Stewart's library of some 12,000 volumes has been

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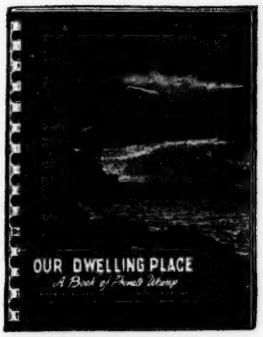

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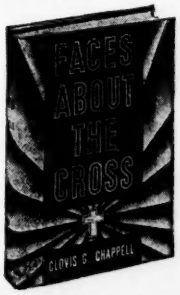

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"This excellent work of condensation brings together the essential and basic religious evaluations which have supplied the consolidating principle for the social structure of mankind—the fundamental religious concepts which have supplied the dynamic for man's communal life."—*Religion in the Making.* "It is a powerful, instructive, and deeply illuminating book for the times."—*British Weekly.* $2.50

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Radicals Seek for Peace by Retreat

Abandon World and Retire to Catskills —City Stirred by 'Gipsy' Smith—Demand Walsh Retract

(Correspondence from Eastern New York)

ALBANY, Jan. 6.—In recent years three men of outstanding scholarship and marked potential leadership have retired to farms in our near-by Catskill mountains and are now engaged in a combination of craftsmanship and religious work. Each of them might be called a modern Saint Francis, although the three are not associated in any movement and each is probably ignorant of the existence of the others. The first is Bouck White, the former eccentric radical socialist of First World War days. He is now living as a maker of pottery and a religious recluse in the Helderbergs near Albany. White was persecuted for his social and religious views and spent several months in prison for opposition to the war and to orthodox religious ways of dealing with the labor problem. A graduate of Harvard University and of Union Theological Seminary, he served as pastor of Congregational and Episcopal churches until he organized a church for laboring men called "The Church of the Social Revolution." Then his troubles started. White is the author of numerous books and pamphlets, the most notable of which are *The Book of Daniel Drew,* which was successfully filmed, and *The Call of the Carpenter.*

* * *

White Builds 'Society Of Cities'

In 1932 White purchased a farm of 300 acres in the foothills of the Catskills, built himself an unusual castle of stone, wood and glass and established himself as a manufacturer of a peculiar type of unfired pottery, in which enterprise he was aided by two young Swedes. He calls his place "Federalburg" and makes it a pulpit for his ideas, the most pronounced of which is a frontal attack on the social, religious and political problems of the world; he calls this plan "A Society of Cities." As many of his radical ideas have now been accepted by society, it may be that this plan may figure prominently in the reconstruction days after the present war is over.

* * *

Lawyer Trades Home For Hovel

The second of these men is Louis Huthsteiner, a former college mate of this correspondent at Amherst. Huthsteiner came from a high-type but non-religious family background, so that when he "got religion" he went all the way. In his earlier years as a lawyer making a comfortable living for his family at Kingston, N. Y., he turned his back on his profession in 1925 to revert to a primitive life as a woodcutter and lay evangelist in the Catskill mountains near Kingston. One of his first acts was to exchange his beautiful home outright for a miserable hovel. Never taking pay for his religious work and often giving away what the kindness of relatives and friends made available to his family, Huthsteiner was labeled a crazy fanatic. People who know genuine Christianity when they see it have some difficulty in recognizing him as a lunatic, for Huthsteiner impresses you with his simple, sincere and completely consecrated life. His family is with him and two of his three sons are studying for the Christian ministry.

* * *

Simpson Makes His Own Tools

The third man in this list is William Simpson, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Lafayette College and also of Union Theological Seminary. For a time after his ordination, Simpson was pastor of a church in a labor district in Pennsylvania until attempted bribery and then opposition on the part of employers of labor so disgusted him that he resigned from his church and retired from the regular ministry. For a time he traveled about, speaking to labor groups and college students on the social gospel. Then he became a real follower of Saint Francis, whose character and work he had always admired. He renounced all worldly possessions and interests, separated from his wealthy wife and devoted himself to the poor wherever he found them. In 1935 his friends gave him a farm near Prattsville in the Catskill mountains, where he now lives a simple life as farmer and preacher, using only the most primitive utensils and instruments, most of which he has himself constructed. He has written a book entitled *Toward the Rising Sun,* also many pamphlets on the simple life, such as *The Method and Meaning of Quiet* and *A Spiritual Quest and Venture of Faith.*

* * *

Gipsy Smith Stirs Schenectady

Gipsy Smith has been evangelizing in Schenectady. According to reports, the city has experienced the greatest spiritual awakening in its history. The campaign was planned over a year ago by the ministers' association and was held Nov. 3-17 in the First Presbyterian Church. Most of the city churches participated. People engaged in the busy life of a modern American city talked about religion as freely as they usually talk about the weather. Boys and girls in the schools heard the evan-

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gelist again and again. The capacity of the church was insufficient to hold the crowds during the last days of the campaign and overflow meetings had to be arranged. Over 1,600 decision cards were signed. Those who have been long in Christian work testify to the deepening and strengthening of their own life and ministry through Gipsy Smith's ministration.

* * *

State Council Demands Retraction of Walsh

The state council of churches has just closed a successful year and will hold its annual meeting Jan. 21 in Albany, N. Y. One of its significant new programs is in the field of adult education; it has promoted a series of institutes one of which opened Jan. 7 in Albany. During the year the council debt was reduced by about $5,000. The general secretary, W. T. Clemens, led the council in challenging the statements of Michael J. Walsh, secretary of state under Governor Lehman, relating to the inefficiency and general failure of the Protestant churches in America. The retraction, with apology, that was forthcoming after it was demanded in the name of the Protestant churches of the state was a halfhearted attempt, in the opinion of Dr. Clemens, and the controversy continues.

* * *

And So Forth

Eugene Blake, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, has accepted the call of the First Presbyterian Church of Pasadena, Calif.

Theodore Meyer of Newark, N. Y., succeeds Walter Mason as pastor of the First Baptist Church in Albany. Mr. Mason retires from the active ministry for a well earned rest.

The sudden death of Calvin C. French, pastor of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church of Albany, leaves a great vacancy in our religious life. Dr. French was the dean of all the city's ministers, having served here for over 20 years.

The Evangelical and Reformed Church of Albany, under the pastoral care of Eugene T. Henzel, recently celebrated its 90th anniversary.

Cities in eastern New York that are planning to revive or start new programs in weekday religious education are the following: New York, Poughkeepsie, Newburgh, Syracuse and Oneonta.

GEORGE L. CUTTON.

Refugee 'Workshops' Set Up by Friends

Teachers and students from six Quaker schools are assisting at a cooperative college workshop established at Haverford, Pa., by the American Friends Service Committee. Twenty-nine refugee scholars from Europe—artists, writers and educators—are being taught how to adjust themselves to the American way of life. Along with classes in English, American history, government and education, the refugees make trips to campuses and social and cultural centers in the Philadelphia area. A similar "workshop" under Quaker auspices has been established in New York city for refugee musicians, dancers, actors and radio artists. A unit of the Haverford college project, the New York school hopes to prepare refugees for professional work in American communities.

Indiana Invaded By Silver Shirts?

New Publishing Plant Recalls Ku Klux Klan Days—Educators Express Anti-War Views

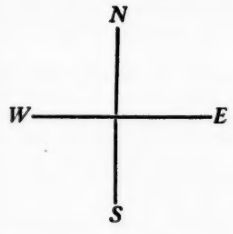
(Correspondence from Indiana)

INDIANAPOLIS, Jan. 7.—Memories of the days when the Ku Klux Klan rode rampant over Indiana, electing governors, controlling legislatures and dictating appointments to political posts, have been revived in recent weeks by newspaper accounts and streetcorner conversations concerning the alleged establishment in the state of the headquarters of William Dudley Pelley, former leader of the Silver Shirt Legion of America. This fascist organization, now disbanded, according to Mr. Pelley's testimony before the Dies committee last February claimed 25,000 members in 22 states. Indiana was one of those states.

* * *

Press Removal Raises Furore

Interest in Pelley and his associates was revived when announcement was made of the establishment at Noblesville of the Fellowship Press, Inc. This press contemplates the publication of books and a "national magazine for business men," to "give the news behind the news," according to its president, Carl Losey, former state policeman. Losey is a longtime friend of



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Willett, Clark

D. C. Stephenson, former Ku Klux Klan "grand dragon" who is now on temporary parole from the state prison to which he was sent following a life sentence for murder. Newspapers have tried to show a tie-up between the new venture and Stephenson, but not with great success. Apparently, however, there are associated with Losey in the Fellowship Press other men of known Klan or Silver Shirt connections. The connection with Pelley is denied by Losey, but his printing equipment was purchased from the Silver Shirt leader.

* * *

Papers Recall Klan Misrule

The state press is recalling the ugly past of the Klan in Indiana and pointing out the remarkable similarity between the avowed aims and methods of the Silver Shirts, now said to be disbanded, and the nazis of Germany. Churchmen of the state, even as they smile at the embarrassment of these Jew-haters and self-appointed spokesmen for "outraged Christian citizens," suffer embarrassment themselves as they recall the degree to which in the 1920's similar doctrines gained a foothold in the state which gave Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith to Louisiana and to Huey Long.

* * *

Political Overture Raises Patronage Issue

In the November election Hoosier Democrats elected a governor, while the Republicans carried the rest of the state ticket. Thus the most important issue to be decided in the near future, according to the politicos, is the burning question of patronage. If any serious thought is being given to other questions of state it is a deep secret. Under the eight years' administration of Governor McNutt and Governor Townsend, great power had been centered in the governorship. And now governor-elect Schricker announces plans to make all appointments of department heads on Jan. 13, the day he takes office. Now, too, his political opponents in control of the legislature announce plans to strip the governor of most of his appointive powers and place them in other hands, possibly in the hands of boards of which the chief executive is a minority member. A few voices counsel moderation and an effort to arrive at a compromise, lest the electorate gag at the disgusting mess that is now brewing.

* * *

Educators Urge Anti-War Views

Two Indiana educators have recently issued statements calling on the public to protest against the trend toward the involvement of this country in the European war. "A mass murder committee" was the name Father John A. O'Brien, Notre Dame University professor, hurled at the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. He declared that "never in our national history were we less in danger from attack from Europe than at the present time" and he suggested that this nation's energies be spent upon caring for "the 25,000,000 of our citizens who are underhoused, underclothed and underfed."

A few days later a public anti-war meeting was held in Richmond at the call of William C. Dennis, president of Earlham College. Dr. Dennis condemned the recent Sunday night radio speech of President Roosevelt as a move which is leading the United States into war. He held that "our greatest danger in the present time of decision is from a feeling among a large number of persons who oppose war that they are powerless to do anything when the nation's leaders move this country toward conflict, or say such is their intention." The meeting, he said, was "to oppose this feeling of helplessness and show people how to act and how to let their expressions of opposition to warlike policies be felt."

* * *

And So Forth

On Dec. 31 Abram E. Cory retired as director of the pension fund of Disciples of Christ, after seeing the fund in 11 years grow to more than $3,000,000 and pay out nearly $2,000,000 in pensions and relief aid.

The impetus of the National Christian Mission is still felt in Indianapolis. The church federation program is in full swing. Evangelistic visitation is in progress, the "Prince of Peace essay contest" is under way, and the committee on foreign relief is busy.

M. G. Schuster, after 13 years with Central Christian Church of Gary, goes to a pastorate at Owensboro, Ky. Another young Disciple minister, Wales Smith of Salem, succeeds E. D. Lowe at Olive Branch Christian Church, Indianapolis. Dr. Lowe closes a 20-year pastorate to become state secretary of his denomination, succeeding G. I. Hoover.

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER, JR.

F.B.I. Questions Peace Advocate

Religious liberty in the United States is "being threatened by persons who are attempting to thwart United States peace efforts," W. Marion Jeschke, pastor of St. Luke's Evangelical and Reformed Church, charged in Buffalo, N. Y. He disclosed that he had been requested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to list his affiliations with peace organizations. "If we are not careful," he said, "the time will not be far off when the members of both the pew and the pulpit will find themselves in prison cells simply because they speak the words of the Prince of Peace. This is a time when the Christian church must speak the truth."

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New Social Gains Cited by Laidler

Corporations' Acceptance of Organized Labor Heads List—Magazine Launched to Urge War as Lesser Evil

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Jan. 13.—In a report on social and economic trends during the past year by Henry W. Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, certain social gains are cited: increasing progress in labor organization in basic industries and the acceptance among large corporations of the principle of collective bargaining; the progress of consumers' cooperatives, which numbered approximately 2,000,000 patron-members; the decrease in unemployment and the increase in minimum wages, with shortened hours; decisions of the United States Supreme Court upholding peaceful picketing; and the failure of big business to elect its candidate in the 1940 presidential election.

* * *

Reduction of Social Service a Loss

Detrimental trends were stated as: continued "hysteria and witch-hunting" as a result of the international crisis, "the elimination of the research department of the National Labor Relations Board" with a view to emasculating the board and weakening it as an effective agency for collective bargaining, the increasing dependence of the national economy on war industry, and attempts in the city, state and nation to reduce appropriations for education, health, housing and recreation.

* * *

Niebuhr Launches New Journal

A new religious journal which will discuss the responsibilities of Christians in the present critical world situation was announced Friday by Reinhold Niebuhr, chairman of the editorial board. The paper, *Christianity and Crisis,* will be an eight-page fortnightly, the first number appearing on Feb. 7. Besides Dr. Niebuhr, the editorial board consists of Charles C. Burlingham, New York lawyer; Rhoda E. McCulloch, editor of the *Womans Press;* John A. Mackay, of Princeton University; Francis P. Miller, of the Council of Foreign Relations; Edward L. Parsons, bishop emeritus of California; and Henry P. Van Dusen of Union. In their circular introducing the paper, the sponsors said the purposes of the paper were fourfold: "In the conflicts in Europe and Asia, ethical issues are at stake which claim the sympathy and support of American Christians"; "By our Christian faith we are committed to the realization of a community of nations founded on justice"; "When men or nations must choose between two great evils, the choice of the lesser evil becomes their duty"; "We hold that the halting of totalitarian aggression is a prerequisite to world peace and order."

* * *

Religious Leaders School Opens

The central community school of religion was opened at St. Nicholas Collegiate Reformed Church, Manhattan, on Monday evening. The school is sponsored by denominational leaders and the religious education department of the Greater New York federation of churches. Besides the regular courses of the leadership training program, a special lecture course on "Christian Living in a World of Tensions" was also offered. The lectures and the lecturers were: "Problems of Industry, Race, Employment and War," by A. J. Muste; "The International Situation," by Roswell P. Barnes; "Crime in New York City—What Can the Church Do About It?" by Austin H. McCormick; "The Citizen's Political Responsibility," by Paul Blanshard; and "Church Unity," by William Pierson Merrill. Other district schools were opened in Brooklyn, Queens and Bronx.

* * *

Court Upholds Ban On Race Hatred

The constitutionality of New Jersey's race hatred statutes, under which ten German-American bund leaders and associates, including National Bundesführer G. William Kunze, were indicted last October, was upheld last week. In a decision read in the courthouse, Judge John C. Losey said the "police power" of a state permitted the legislature to enact laws "to promote the order, safety, health, morals and general welfare of society" and "to protect its citizens." He concluded his argument by saying: "Free speech was never intended to constitute an absolute license to speak or publish anything one pleases."

* * *

Treatment of Negro Seen As Flaw in Democracy

Speaking at Yale University, Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald fund, declared that the American attitude toward the Negro race is a threat to the whole practice and theory of democracy. "So long as we degrade one segment of the people we set a pattern of caste and discrimination that may easily be transferred to other groups," he said. "No race or class can be firmly assured of fair play so long as we continue to treat any group unfairly."

* * *

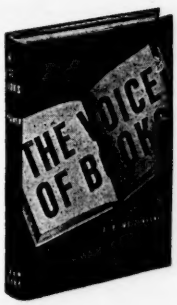
And So Forth

The American executive committee of the Central Bureau for Relief of the Evangelical Churches of Europe, in cooperation with the Universal Christian Council, the American Waldensian Aid Society and the American McAll Association, sponsored a dinner at the Town Hall club last Tuesday evening in honor of Adolph Keller of Geneva, Switzerland. Dr. Keller is in this country as guest speaker for the National Christian Mission and as representative of the international relief work of the Christian churches for Europe.

Member societies increased their buying through the Eastern Cooperative Wholesale approximately 45 per cent during 1940, as compared with the previous year. Volume was approximately $1,555,000.

The 118th annual meeting of the woman's branch of the New York City Mission Society was held today at the Brick Presbyterian Church. The branch is doing work at 18 centers.

The annual midwinter meeting of the metropolitan conference of free churches was held at All Souls Unitarian Church, Manhattan, Sunday afternoon. The discus-



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A Voice in the Wilderness
● ROY L. SMITH

A compelling account is this biographic study of *John the Baptist.* "A flowing narrative; a dramatic story; a careful study of John's relation to his times and to Jesus; a series of vivid pictures of a crucial period and of a great character." —*Christian Century.* $2

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sion topic was "Passive Resistance, How and When Can It Be Applied?" The speakers were A. J. Muste and F. Ernest Johnson.

J. Henry Carpenter.

Clergy Form Committee To Aid Britain

More than 150 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergymen have formed in New York an "Interfaith Committee for Aid to the Democracies." It is actively cooperating with the William Allen White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, whose chairmanship Mr. White resigned because of its warlike trend. The purpose of the clergymen's committee is to supply England with munitions, ships and food, "freely given or lent." Among the committee members are Henry A. Atkinson, James Cannon, Jr., Henry Sloane Coffin, Israel Goldstein, Henry S. Leiper, William T. Manning, Francis J. McConnell, Wilfred Parsons, S. J., G. Ashton Oldham, Vincent G. Donovan and Guy Emery Shipler.

'Feed the Hungry,' Say Worcester Ministers

Thirty ministers, one rabbi and two laymen of Worcester, Mass., are circulating a statement favoring the feeding of the victims of aggression in the conquered areas of Europe. The final point in their statement is: "It is our conviction that it is the moral duty of religion to uphold the ideal of feeding the hungry and ministering to the sick. Those who represent religion must make sure that the utmost be done to help the innocent victims of this ghastly war." The sponsors of the statement are Hollis M. Bartlett, Joseph W. Beach, Myron W. Folwell, Oliver M. Frazer, Anders G. Lund, Urban L. Ogden, Richard G. Preston and Levi A. Olan.

'Wets' and 'Drys' Push Temperance

Temperance will be promoted by both "wet" and "dry" groups in Minnesota in 1941. At a meeting of the Minnesota temperance movement in Minneapolis an anti-liquor program to cost $50,000 was voted for work in churches, schools, clubs and young people's groups during the year, using newspaper, radio and display advertising. At the same time the Minnesota Council of Brewery Workers, supported by contributions from 2,500 union workers, decided to press an educational campaign to encourage temperate use of alcoholic beverages. The Michigan Christian youth action committee will work for the passage of a bill to be introduced in both houses of the Michigan legislature, proposing to outlaw the advertising of alcoholic beverages throughout the state. The North Carolina Woman's Christian Temperance Union has served notice that it will seek a return to state-wide prohibition during the current term of the North Carolina legislature. Expressing "deep concern" that church-related temperance organizations are making "such little progress," the heads of five national Lutheran groups have issued a statement urging the reorganization and unification "under one banner" of the Anti-Saloon League and other national temperance bodies now in existence.

Churches Set Up Relief Agency

Some formula will shortly be sought in Syracuse, N. Y., in order that churches may unite all relief appeals in a single campaign, it was decided at a meeting sponsored by the council of churches. There are 14 national appeals before the people of Syracuse now, with a number of others in the offing.

Theology and Modern Life

Essays in Honor of
HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL

Edited by P. A. Schilpp

The book pays tribute to Dr. Rall upon his completion of 40 years in the Methodist ministry, 30 years as theologian, and 25 years as professor in Garrett Biblical Institute.

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Current Feature Films

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Behind the News (Rep.) J. Albertson, Lloyd Nolan	*Melodrama.* Jarred from his alcoholic cynicism by adoration of a new "cub," ex-crack reporter renews old idealism, helps expose city-hall scandal.	Theme is one with opportunity for worthwhile, dramatic portrayal. But film tumbles into just another melodrama, with the solution of the crime—and that entirely by coincidence—the chief end. *Disappointing.* M
Flight Command (MGM) Ruth Hussey, Paul Kelly, W. Pidgeon, Robert Taylor	*Aviation.* A cocky Pensacola graduate joins the veteran "hell cats" for duty; meets antagonism; is ostracized unjustly for supposed interference in commander's private life; proves he can take it.	First in a coming avalanche of defense-training films, this was photographed with "gratefully acknowledged cooperation of the U. S. navy." Story is frail, but there are magnificent shots of planes in action. While film is not particularly objectionable as propaganda, its purpose is *to extol navy's air corps.* M, Y
Murder at the Baskervilles (British film released by Monogram) A. Wontner	*Detective.* Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson go to country for a rest; stumble on race-track murder; trace it to old enemy, the "professor."	Effective filming of "Silver Blaze," one of less exciting Sherlock Holmes tales. *For Holmes fans.* M, Y
The Philadelphia Story (MGM) Cary Grant, Ruth Hussey, K. Hepburn, James Stewart	*Comedy.* Picture-weekly staff members, sent to cover wedding in exclusive Philadelphia home, join ex-husband in bringing bride-to-be to her better self.	Like the popular play of which it is a faithful screening, film is witty, sophisticated, ably presented in every detail; like the play, too, it is based on implication that mainly by getting the heroine thoroughly drunk can her intolerance and selfishness be permanently overcome. *Brilliant, but with feet of clay.* M
Santa Fe Trail (War.) O. de Havilland, Errol Flynn, Van Heflin, R. Massey	*Romance* among West Pointers sent to quell Kansas abolitionist disorders in 1850's, with the envisioning of a future railroad and the Harper's Ferry raid thrown in.	Massey and Heflin as Brown and the follower who betrayed him give memorable performances; otherwise, film is a pleasant love story against a glamorous background. *Elaborately staged, but as drama or history it heads nowhere in particular.* M, Y
Sky Murder (MGM) Donald Meek, W. Pidgeon	*Detective.* The bygone-days hero comes to the screen to overcome "fifth columnists."	There is much violence, and many breaks provided by script writers to unwind the tale. The "columnists" are horrendous. *Hysterical.*

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: The Adventures of Chico, A Dispatch from Reuters, The Great Dictator, The Howards of Virginia, Knute Rockne—All-American, Spring Parade, The Thief of Bagdad.

For Mature Audience: Brigham Young, Christmas in July, Dr. Kildare Goes Home, Escape, The Fight for Life, The Great Beginning, The Great McGinty, The Long Voyage Home, The Mark of Zorro, Pride and Prejudice, Our Town.

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